

# The American Review of Reviews

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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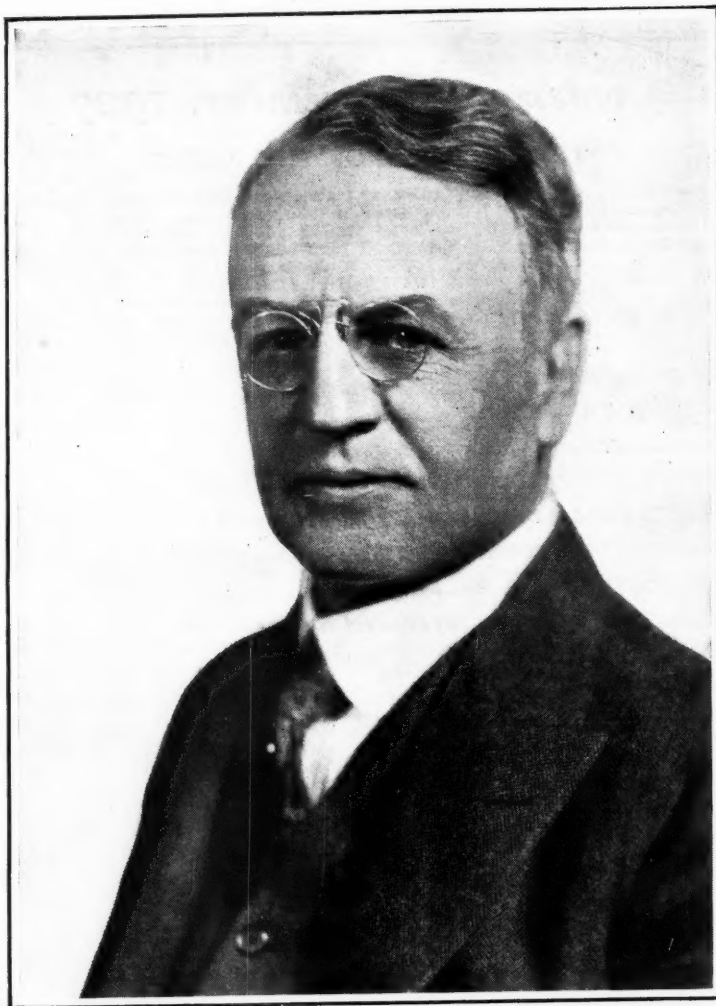
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**HON. DWIGHT W. MORROW**

The appointment of Mr. Morrow as Ambassador to Mexico has been widely approved. To have secured the consent of so distinguished a private citizen to abandon a successful business career and devote his talents and his energies to what for so long has been considered a thankless task, is at once an achievement for President Coolidge and a testimonial to the public spirit of Mr. Morrow. He was born in West Virginia January 11, 1873, and will therefore soon be fifty-five years old. He graduated at Amherst College in 1895, in President Coolidge's class. Four years later he completed law studies at Columbia University, New York, practising law in that city for fifteen years, his legal activities centering largely in corporation finance. In 1914 he accepted an invitation to become a member of the banking firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. His philanthropic and educational activities have been unceasing, and he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal in 1919 by General Pershing for his part in the conduct of the business side of the war.



*The American*  
**Review**  
*of Reviews*  
*Edited by Albert Shaw*

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## The Progress of the World

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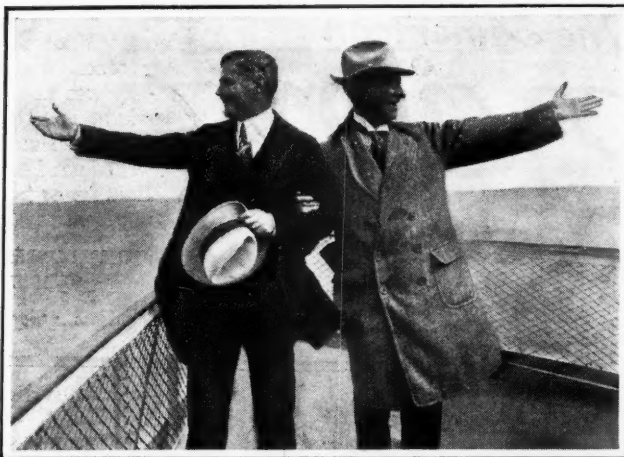
*A Forgotten  
Election Day  
at Hand*

Election day this year falls on November 8. But so general has been the apathy about politics that the party spokesmen have found it hard to get a front page position in view of the pressing competition of other topics of human interest. In England, there are local elections every November that involve the governing bodies of cities, as well as the county and parish councils that control rural affairs. Our tendency, on the other hand, is to lengthen terms of office and to concentrate electoral activities. This concentration has been favored by politicians because it has strengthened the hands of party organizations. It is their natural desire to carry the machinery of national parties into the electoral contests for State, municipal, county, village and township government. The non-partisan worker for improved administration has generally favored the separation of elections. That is to say, he has held the view that State government has its own sphere and its own issues, and that these have no necessary connection with the partisanship that revolves about the issues and the control of the Federal Government at Washington.

*Concentrating  
in the Even  
Years*

As against this view of separate State and local elections, the practical politicians have almost invariably succeeded in having their own way. Most of the States elect legislators for two-year periods, and these

elections as a rule are held on the same day with the election of members of Congress. Thus, alternately, the election of these State legislators falls upon the date of the Presidential contest. As for Governors, something like twenty-two are now holding office for four-year terms, with twenty-five having terms of two years, and with one (New Jersey) having at present a three-year term which is likely enough to be lengthened to four years. Successors to the Governors now holding office will be chosen a year hence, on the date of the Presidential election, in as many as thirty-six of the forty-eight States. In eight of the States whose Governors have four-year terms, the election of the State ticket, including Governor, falls midway between Presidential elections; that is to say, it falls upon the date of an election of members of the national House of Representatives, and of United States Senators in one third of the States. Kentucky elects this year a Governor for the term of four years, to be inaugurated next January, and Louisiana elects a Governor for four years, who will be inaugurated next May. Mississippi, like Kentucky, elects a Governor this year to be inaugurated in January next, and these are the only States of the entire forty-eight whose new Governors are now to be chosen in order to take office early next year. Georgia, by way of exception, inaugurates its Governor at the beginning of July, and Governor L. G. Hardman succeeded Governor Clifford Walker four



THE GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY AND THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

Mr. Moore and Mr. Smith officiated at ceremonies, late in September, incident to the beginning of work upon a huge bridge to span the Hudson River and connect the City of New York with the Jersey shore. Each Governor is here pointing out to the other the respective attractions of his home State.

months ago for a two-year term. Generally speaking, the country holds most of its elections in the even years.

*An Issue  
in New York  
Politics*

The State of New York has been carrying out a comprehensive reorganization of its executive departments under the direction of Governor Smith, this resulting from changes in the State Constitution which had been agreed upon in the Constitutional Convention of 1915, over which Hon. Elihu Root presided. In working out these proposed changes in that convention, former Governor Charles E. Hughes and the present Governor Alfred E. Smith were in accord. The new Constitution, as drafted by that convention, was defeated at the polls when submitted to a referendum vote. This defeat was not due to popular disapproval of the proposed changes in the structure of the State government, but to other things in the document which met the disapproval of organized labor. More recently, the project for combining more than a hundred State agencies of one kind or another under a small group of department heads forming a cabinet responsible to the Governor, has been adopted as an amendment of the old Constitution. Other matters of a constitutional character were left for later decision. One of these had to do with the length of the term of Governor, and it has become an issue for decision in

this year's election. The Mayor of the City of New York is now chosen for four years, and it has been quite generally agreed that the Governor of the State should be elected for a four-year rather than a two-year term, as at present. Governor Smith was elected for his present term in November, 1926, to serve through the years of 1927 and 1928. His successor is to be chosen in November of next year on the date of the presidential election.

*An Example  
for Political  
Debaters*

There comes before the voters of

New York at the election of the present November

a constitutional amendment that would extend the term of the Governor to four years. This would omit the gubernatorial election of 1930, so that the next choice of Governor and high State officers would coincide with the presidential election of 1932. The Republicans support this proposal, while the Democrats under the energetic leadership of Governor Smith are opposed to it. The difference of view on this question was ably presented on October 10 in a friendly debate between two of the most capable and intelligent women of New York State. Mrs. Ruth Pratt, who is the only woman member of the New York Board of Aldermen, expounded the Republican position, and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt set forth the arguments of the Democrats who oppose the holding of the election of Governor on the same date, during all coming years, as the election of a President. Both of these speakers are leaders in public-spirited activities, and are deserving of the influence they have gained and the esteem in which they are held. Each made an argument that was palpably sincere and that rested upon considerations not to be lightly dismissed.

*The Republican  
Line of  
Argument*

Mrs. Pratt takes the public mind as she finds it. She realizes the preoccupations of our vast, complex society. She asks herself how our millions of men and women, old and young, can be made sufficiently

*Making  
Dramatic  
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interested in politics and government to take their part and to go to the polls? No large proportion of the voters will be independent thinkers, impelled by a grave sense of the responsibilities of each voter in a government like ours, where the majority rules. The old-fashioned game of politics that once appealed to the gregarious and partisan instincts of masculine humanity can no longer compete with prize-fights and baseball, or with non-political matters involving work and wages and social interests. Mrs. Pratt would intensify and dramatize politics and government by making the quadrennial campaign inclusive and humanly enlivening, and by bringing as many voters as possible to the polls.

*Make Politics  
Dramatic and  
Exciting!*

Where population masses are so large, and where the appeals to attention and to mental energy are so varied, leaders like Mrs. Pratt believe that the political game must be made thrilling and significant to everybody. They hold that the best results can be had by developing leadership, arousing the interest of the community in personalities as well as in issues, and persuad-



**MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

Wife of the Democratic nominee for the Vice-Presidency in 1920, who debated with Mrs. Pratt the proposal to change the term of the Governor in New York.



**MRS. JOHN T. PRATT**

New York City's first and only woman Alderman, elected in 1925, and vice-chairman of the ways and means committee of the Republican National Committee.

ing the entire public to record its decisions on the one impressive day every four years. Recent experience has shown us that voters in the mass are no longer under the hypnotic spell of partisanship, and that they can and will split their tickets and vote for their favorites. This has been shown again and again in recent New York elections, where the vote for Governor and the vote for President have presented a totally different cleavage. It used to be rather generally admitted that the ordinary voter was less discriminating when national, State, and local officers were to be chosen at the same time. The marked decline of partisanship, however, has been exhibited in recent elections by the way in which the voters have marked their ballots or have pulled the levers of the voting machine.

*The Argument  
for Separate  
Elections*

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who is active in the work of the League of Women Voters, and who with her husband is a valiant supporter of Governor Smith, holds strongly to the view that has been traditional among political reformers. Those of us who have been concerned for the improvement of American municipal government, and for

local progress in general, have always advocated the holding of these local elections at a separate time. With the wide adoption of the commission form of city government and the employment by hundreds of communities of city managers, the tendency has been to take local affairs out of politics and to deal with them from the standpoint of scientific administration. This has placed emphasis upon the businesslike handling of public funds, and the treatment of such services as those of schools, police, streets, sanitation, parks and so on as community affairs, to be conducted intelligently and honestly in the public interest, with employees chosen on merit under civil-service rules rather than upon the old-fashioned plan of patronage or party spoils. The preaching of these doctrines of municipal improvement, as regards the machinery of government and the exercise of public functions, has managed to make its way until there is actually some disposition even to reform county government, and to rid it of its old-time control by groups of small-fry court-house politicians.

*The State is  
a Political  
Enterprise*

And, proceeding further, there is a tendency to think of the State Government in terms of the intelligent transaction of the business of the commonwealth, with a minimum of politics. It is much more difficult, however, in practice to carry on the affairs of the State than those of the municipal corporation upon this business analogy. Efficiency in the affairs of the State does, indeed, appear to be hardly different in many respects from efficiency in the carrying on of large private enterprises. But the State is much more than a business undertaking: it is a political sovereignty. We have not succeeded anywhere in electing members of the State legislatures merely on the ground of their being capable citizens, regardless of their membership in party organizations. The legislature may be Republican or Democratic in its control, and yet may support sound policies for the efficient management of State services and institutions.

*New York's  
Party Lines  
are Elastic*

It is quite true in the State of New York that the Republican vote comes out more emphatically in presidential election years than at other times. Incidentally, therefore, it might be better for the Republicans as a political party, in their efforts to elect

a Republican Governor of New York, to have State and national elections coincide. This, however, would by no means subject the Democrats to any unfair disadvantage. They have the same opportunity as their opponents to make their appeal to the voters in presidential years. In short, the contention for separate State elections would seem in view of recent experience and of election statistics to have become somewhat academic. The theoretical arguments certainly would seem to be the stronger on Governor Smith's side of the dispute. But the voting machinery in either case favors independent action, and partisanship is not rigid in New York State.

*Governor Smith  
Challenges  
Opponents*

The two State conventions in New York were held late in September. The Democrats met at Albany on September 29, and the Republicans gathered at Rochester on September 30. Two great Democratic events, both widely advertised, followed one another, a few hours apart. One was the home-welcoming occasion that was staged for the aggrandizement of Mayor "Jimmie" Walker, as he returned from his triumphal touring of Europe. The other was the appearance of Governor Smith at the State Democratic convention at Albany. The convention had no real work to do because there were no nominations to be made. But the occasion was carefully planned with a view to giving the Democrats of the entire country the picture of a solidly unified New York State Democracy supporting Governor Smith, and ignoring the old cleavage between Tammany and the up-State leadership. Within the memory of men still living, eminent New York leaders like Samuel J. Tilden, Grover Cleveland, David B. Hill, and many others only less famous, had been bitterly opposed to Tammany Hall. But blissful harmony, under the buoyant leadership of Governor Smith, has perched upon the banners of a united and enthusiastic Democracy in the Empire State. Behind all the warmth and spontaneity of the enthusiasm that Al. Smith arouses is the careful planning of Olvany and the Tammany management of the party programs. Governor Smith tactfully refused to allude to his presidential candidacy. Neither was anything whatever said by the Governor, or by any other responsible Democrat at Albany, on the wet and dry issue. Among the wets of



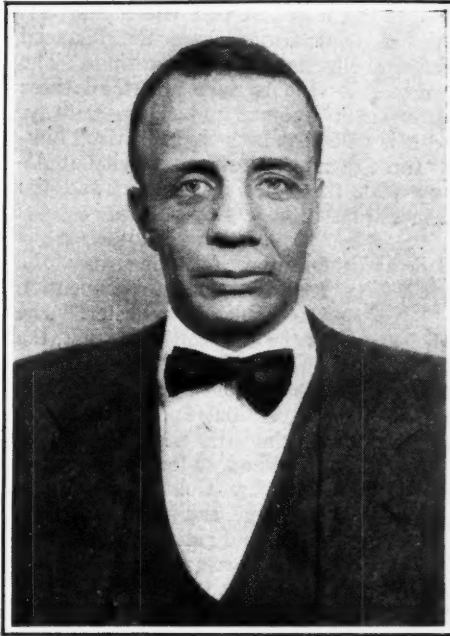
the country, as it is now explained, the position of the New York Democrats is sufficiently well understood. Meanwhile, among the Democratic dregs of the West and South, the Smith propaganda explains that Governor Smith is really for law enforcement, and that if elected President he would take the Volstead Act as he found it, and at least do better than the Coolidge Administration has done in enforcing prohibition.

**Aggressive  
Party  
Claims**

In his Albany speech, the Governor confined himself to a discussion of his activities as head of the State Government, and expounded the pending constitutional amendments. In the first place, he took for his own party all credit for the adoption of the long-delayed proposals for a revised scheme of State administration. Next the Governor claimed the credit, as against Republican politicians, for getting the Executive Budget before the people in the form of a constitutional amendment that is to be voted upon this year. This excellent proposal stands first in the list of the proposed amendments. The argument for a four-year term was stated by the Governor both tersely and convincingly. He is not so convincing, however, in his assertion that to elect the Governor in a presidential year would tend to give a man unfit for the handling of State business a cheap ride into the governorship on some national party issue. One of the most interesting parts of the Governor's speech was his discussion of the deadlock that is preventing the development of St. Lawrence waterpower, and the undertaking of certain other power projects. The Governor stands firmly for direct development by the State, while the Republicans have favored a leasing plan. It was characteristic of Governor Smith's engaging quality of frankness that he should assure everybody that the legislature to be elected this year, like its predecessor, would inevitably be Republican. He declared that it would be impossible to elect a Democratic legislature under the present apportionment plan, although the State as a whole might be overwhelmingly Democrat.

**New York's  
Public  
Outlays**

Anticipating the assertions about to be made at the Republican convention, Governor Smith vigorously defended himself against charges of extravagance in State expendi-



**COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT**

The Republican nominee for Governor of New York in 1924 made the keynote speech for his party in the State convention on September 30, criticizing the administration of Governor Smith.

tures. He argued that nothing could be spent except what had been appropriated by the Republican legislature. The increase of twenty-nine million dollars in the last year's State expenditure, the Governor explains, was about two-thirds for public schools, something less than one-fourth for the highway department for necessary bridges, and the rest to meet increased interest on the public debt due to soldiers' bonus and other outlays that had been authorized by the people. One of the amendments to be voted upon permits the cities of the State to increase their borrowing capacity for various public improvements, and in particular it authorizes a large increase in the public debt of New York City for the purpose of bringing under unified municipal ownership the two privately operated subway systems and other rapid-transit facilities. The acceptance of this amendment is urged in Governor Smith's speech on the ground that our cities have fallen behind in public improvements in the period since the war because national taxation had absorbed so large a part of the taxpaying power of the people. Another amendment urged as important by the Governor proposes some



changes in the plan under which railroads and local authorities share the financial burden of eliminating grade crossings. The Governor is able to talk about all these matters in a vigorous and aggressive way, and it is true that he has familiarized himself through many years of activity at Albany with the State institutions and the business of the State Government.

*Col. Roosevelt's Challenge to Tammany*

On the following day, the Republican State convention was held at Rochester. The two features of the occasion were, first, the address of Col. Theodore Roosevelt, who was both temporary and permanent chairman of the convention, and, second, the adoption of a platform adapted to this year's situation while also looking ahead to the issues of next year. Colonel Roosevelt's speech was a challenge, and it was so bitterly assailed, criticized, and ridiculed by certain newspapers that its remarkable qualities were at first hardly realized. But as a Republican document it is more than an ephemeral event of September 30. Colonel Roosevelt began by summarizing the achievements of the Coolidge Administration, particularly as regards good financial management. Whereupon he set in contrast what he regards as extravagance in New York's financial policies, resulting in a rapid increase in the cost of the State Government and growth of the State debt. As a convention speech, its unqualified strain of partisanship in reviewing various State affairs was to be expected. The review led up to a climax in the form of an attack upon Tammany Hall. Colonel Roosevelt's concluding sentences were as follows:

For the first time in the history of the nation the shadow of Tammany Hall lies athwart the White House. It is in our power to dispel that shadow this autumn. By electing a strong majority in the Legislature we can serve notice on the nation that New York will be found in the Republican column in the Presidential election next year, and pave the way for reclaiming the State from the control of the Wigwam at Fourteenth Street—and that is what we intend to do.

*Where Credit Is Due*

Outside of the State, there may not be much interest in the rival claims to credit for giving New York's voters this year the opportunity to establish the right kind of an executive budget by amending the State Constitution. Certainly Governor Smith has favored it, but the history of the move-

ment locally would give the larger share of personal credit to Messrs. Root and Hughes. Submission of the question to the people has been brought about by action of Republican legislatures. The exceptional concentration of the Democratic vote in New York City under the complete control of Tammany Hall goes far to nullify Governor Smith's argument in favor of electing the State ticket in off years. As regards water power, the Republican plan is to make leases under strict regulation, and to allow private capital to build the dams and create the hydro-electric plants. Governor Smith's plan is to establish a quasi-public body to be known as the Water-Power Authority, which would use the State credit to sell bonds for the development of water power. Under this plan the Water-Power Authority would sell or lease the electric current itself to private interests. A good argument, it would seem, might be made on either side of the question. The Republicans criticized Governor Smith for vetoing an act of the legislature which would have referred both schemes to a non-partisan commission of experts for inquiry and recommendation.

*The Governor's Good Luck in Law-makers*

Through all the years of his governorship, Al. Smith has had to work with Republican legislatures at Albany. A plausible argument might be made to show that his success as Governor, which has enhanced his personal popularity throughout the country, has been largely due to this very fact that he has had a Republican legislature to work with. The apportionment scheme favors the State at large, as against the metropolis of New York City. With an apportionment plan based strictly upon numbers, Tammany would have had such advantages that it would doubtless have controlled all recent legislatures. It is quite fair and reasonable to ask what kind of a government the State of New York would have had, even with the public-spirited Al. Smith as Governor, if both branches of these successive legislatures had been fully dominated by Tammany Hall. Perhaps Al. Smith's best luck might be ascribed to Republican assemblymen. The Republican politicians of the State of New York have not been without their faults, and some of their mistakes have merited criticism. But to say that they have averaged much more highly in char-

acter as public servants than the delegations that Tammany Hall has usually picked, in the name of the Democratic party, to fill legislative seats at Albany, is not to dis-close any partisan bias whatsoever.

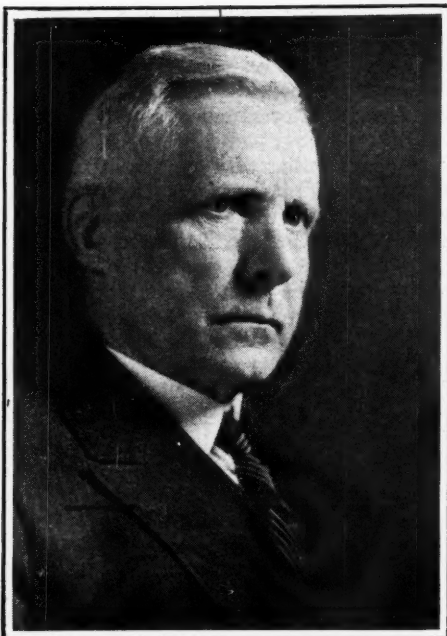
*Who Are "Democrats"?* It would be well for the Demo-cratic party of the country to open its eyes to a frank con-templation of its own structural weakness. In the nature of things, it is a coalition of unblended opposition elements. It has some coherence in a certain instinctive feeling for wage earners, and for the rela-tively helpless masses of plain people, as against the self-styled "superior classes" and the powerful network of corporate economic interests. But this is only a pose or an instinctive attitude; and there is no objective cleavage along such lines, although demagogues have a habit of seeking votes by attacking banks, railroads, and big business in general. The Demo-cratic party in and about the State of New York is now controlled absolutely by a private organization having its headquarters in the Tammany wigwam on Fourteenth Street, New York City, of which Mr. George Olvany is the present head, suc-ceeding the late Charles F. Murphy, who in turn had succeeded Boss Croker. The "Solid South" is Democratic as a sectional attitude growing out of the politics of the Reconstruction period. The Democracy of the West is largely reminiscent of the so-called radicalism of the Populists, and of the leadership of the late W. J. Bryan. The old Democracy of New England and the East, which has become almost submerged, is identified with such names as Grover Cleveland, Alton B. Parker, Richard Olney, and the Bayards of Delaware.

*The Newer National Party* Apart from the four sectional elements that make up the Democratic party, there re-mains to be mentioned the so-called Progressive movement, largely emancipated from sectionalism, that was embodied in the work and the personnel of Woodrow Wilson's administration. It developed great executives, of whom the foremost examples were William G. McAdoo and David F. Houston. The army leaders agree that Newton D. Baker should also be placed in this rank. In the larger group were Ohio leaders like Cox and Pomerene, Virginians like Glass, Montague, Tucker, Moore and

others, North Carolinians like Josephus Daniels and Senator Simmons, diplomats like John W. Davis and legislators like Oscar Underwood, Senator John Sharpe Williams, Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, and others whose names will readily occur to readers familiar with our recent political life. To ignore its own real leaders and its best convictions will not bring the Demo-cratic party either credit or success.

*A Vote-Getter and a Personality* The Democratic party is in some danger of forgetting that it has ever had any principles or ideals. It will be weak in the presidential election next year if it abandons seriousness and dignity. The sentiments and convic-tions of the Democrats who were most prominent in the eight years preceding the administration of Presidents Harding and Coolidge cannot be thrust aside with impunity. Governor Smith is a man of warm human sympathies, and is justly a favorite among social-settlement workers and reformers of their type. He has such an easy familiarity with the ins and outs of the affairs of New York City and State, and he is so fluent and likable as an offhand speaker, that the Democratic party has come to think of him as a vote-getter; and it has apparently forgotten to ask whether or not he has real qualifications for the serious, delicate, and complicated tasks of statesmanship that devolve upon the Presi-dent of the United States. It was the widely echoed opinion last month among politicians of both parties, not only in public places but also in the private and confidential expression of their views, that the candidacy of Governor Smith had gone so far toward overcoming obstacles that his nomination next year is practically assured. What then becomes of the Democracy?

*Mr. McAdoo's Withdrawal* The greatest obstacle that had stood in the way of the Smith boom was the prospective candidacy of William G. McAdoo, and his ability to rally enough support under the two-thirds rule to block the Tammany movement in the convention. Seemingly, Mr. McAdoo was in quite as good a position for this purpose of producing a deadlock as he was in 1924. But in a letter to a Southern editor, George F. Milton, of Chattanooga, published on September 17, Mr. McAdoo declared that he would not be a candidate for the nomination in 1928.



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HON. JAMES A. REED, OF MISSOURI  
United States Senator since 1911

Mr. Milton was a warm McAdoo supporter, and he had called attention to the fact that in 91 out of 103 ballots cast at Madison Square Garden in 1924 Mr. McAdoo had led all candidates. It was the opinion of this brilliant editor, as expressed to Mr. McAdoo in a letter of September 8, that, if he should consent to be a candidate, he "could be nominated by the party and elected President by the people next year." It was in answer to Mr. Milton's letter that Mr. McAdoo made the statement to which we have referred. He calls attention to the intense activities of his personal and public career, makes a strong plea for the maintenance of "Democratic principles and Progressive policies," and hopes that there will be no repetition of the inconclusive and disastrous fight of the New York convention of 1924. His demand for the enforcement of the Constitution, including the Eighteenth Amendment, is well known. Many Democrats, especially those of the West and South, were prepared to follow the courageous and aggressive lead of Mr. McAdoo. His withdrawal has had the effect, at least for the time being, of leaving Tammany Hall in a dominant position.

*Senator Reed  
in the Field*

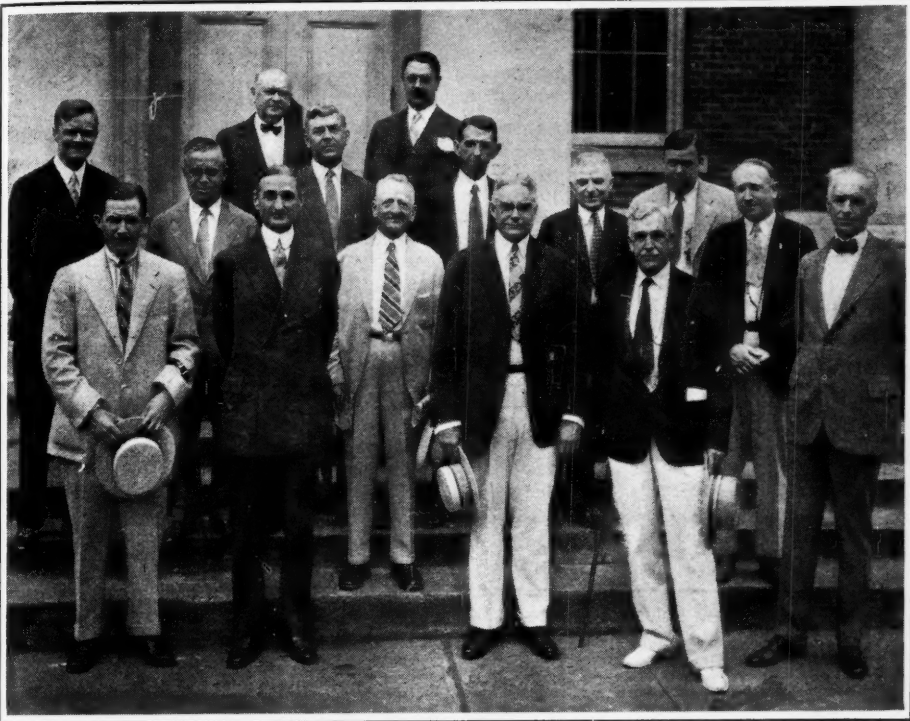
With Mr. McAdoo definitely out of the running, no leader of equal position and influence has appeared to arouse enthusiasm in the Democratic party as a whole. Senator Reed of Missouri addressed a great gathering of his fellow-citizens on the State Fair grounds at Sedalia on October 12 and was proclaimed, not only by his thousands of hearers, but also by the Democratic State Committee, as Missouri's choice for next year. But Senator Reed was so out of sympathy with President Wilson and his policies that seven years ago he was virtually "read out of the party." Furthermore, he is not acceptable to the upholders of prohibition. It is clear that he has become a powerful leader, recognized as a man of force in the Senate. His investigation of expenditures in the Senatorial campaigns of Pennsylvania and Illinois has given him a partisan fighting ground of his own. At least Senator Reed is a representative of the Democratic party, thoroughly versed in national affairs.

*The  
Primaries  
Will Show*

It is conceivable that as the period of primary elections comes nearer, names of so-called favorite sons will be entered in various States. This will give an opportunity for the Democratic voters themselves to put on record their preference, as between a popular State administrator like Governor Smith and a partisan Democrat of experience in national affairs. Virginia has the opportunity to endorse Senator Glass, although as a matter of compliment the Senator himself has suggested the name of the present Governor, Hon. Harry Flood Byrd. It is not to be supposed that Maryland will throw away its opportunity to present the name of Governor Ritchie, who is not only a State administrator fully equal in every way in experience and ability to Governor Smith, but who is also profoundly interested in national affairs. Senator Walsh of Montana has made a recent record that entitles him to very high prestige. And there are others, like Baker and Donahey of Ohio, Meredith of Iowa, and Robinson of Arkansas.

*Republican  
Availables*

There are Republicans who still believe that their own party assembled in national convention next year will turn to President Coolidge and urge him to accept a nomi-



#### WELL-KNOWN LEADERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

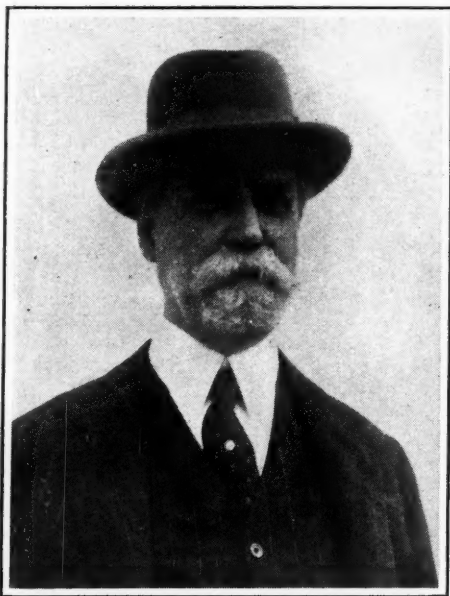
In the front row from left to right, are: Dr. Lindsay Rogers, Columbia University; William G. McAdoo; Senator Carter Glass of Virginia; Governor Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland; Dean Charles G. Maphis, director of the Institute; and Dr. A. R. Hatton, Western Reserve University. In the middle row are: Major R. H. Ranger, Radio Corporation of America; Mark Graves, New York State Tax Commissioner; President John Coulter, North Dakota A. and M. College; Dr. Gustavus W. Dyer, Vanderbilt University; Victor Rosewater, former editor *Omaha Bee*; George F. Milton, editor *Chattanooga News*; and Thomas Reed, University of Michigan. In the back row: Ralph Lounsbury and A. T. Polyziodes, editor the *Atlantis*.

nation for another term. But our readers may be assured that no one is saying anything of this kind to President Coolidge himself or that the President is discussing the question for a single moment with his most intimate friends. He is doing his duty as he sees it; is not the victim of egotism or personal ambition; and is trying in every way to make his Administration serve the best welfare of the country. Many readers, interested very commendably in the personalities as well as in the issues of politics, like to know what is being thought and said about possible Republican candidates.

*Mr. Hughes, Pro and Con* In New York State during recent weeks, in fact ever since President Coolidge's statement of intention, there has been a strong movement among Republican lead-

ers in favor of the nomination of Mr. Hughes. He had previously said that he would not be a candidate, intimating that he thought himself too old. In the opinion of most people capable of judging, he has lost nothing of the vigor of his prime and he has steadily gained in experience, in prestige, in sympathy with his fellow-men, and in broad comprehension of national and international affairs. But Mr. Hughes has not given the slightest intimation that he would consent to be a candidate. The practical politicians are bound to think in terms of winning the election; and they believe that Mr. Hughes could easily carry the State of New York and all the other Eastern States. In the West, certain Republican leaders of the so-called Progressive wing are said to have been organizing to head off the movement for Mr. Hughes as a man identified with the State of New





HON. CHARLES E. HUGHES

Nominee for President in 1916, and again prominent among available Republicans.

York, and as presumably acceptable to business men of large interests and responsibilities.

*The Malady of Cheap Prejudice* There is a kind of cheap and superficial sectionalism that afflicts certain Eastern politicians and certain Western Senators, like an incurable skin disease. The malady is not deep-seated or fatal, but it is disfiguring and unpleasant. This is the mental disease that causes certain Eastern leaders to think that Governor Lowden represents a dangerous kind of agrarianism, and that makes Senators of the North Dakota school imagine that Judge Hughes is identified in some sinister way with Wall Street. There is not the slightest ground for either of these specific prejudices. Mr. Lowden, as Governor of Illinois, and Mr. Hughes as Governor of New York, made administrative records certainly not inferior to those of any other Governors of either party, whose names are now in evidence. As jurist and as Secretary of State, no one would venture to dispute Mr. Hughes' preëminence. Neither is there the slightest reason to think that he would not be open-minded as regards the needs of maintaining American agriculture and a high rural civilization.

He has an analytical mind, is free from sectional bias, and would certainly not turn his back upon the Western and Southern farmers. On the other hand, Mr. Lowden is not merely an advocate of farm relief, but he is a man of wide accomplishments, of high standing in the legal profession, of legislative experience at Washington, of sound views regarding business and finance, and of familiarity with international affairs. There is no reason why Mr. Lowden should not be highly acceptable to the East, nor any reason at all why Mr. Hughes should not be hailed with enthusiasm by the West.

*Hoover As He Is To-day*

We are publishing in this number a remarkable article on the personal qualities and the genius for constructive work that Mr. Herbert Hoover has been showing in recent years. The picture that William Hard gives us of our indefatigable Secretary of Commerce, as he revels in one great organized achievement after another, is no mere perfunctory portrait of the kind that routine publicity agents are accustomed to send out. Rather, it is a fresh and original study by one of the best-informed of the excellent group of journalists and correspondents now residing at Washington. By nature and training, Mr. Hoover is an administrator and not a politician. But his intensive experiences of the past twelve years or more have brought him into close contact with governments abroad and at home; and he has learned much about politics in the deeper meaning of the word, although he could never be a narrow or bitter partisan. He has built up his department in a remarkable way, and has shown a singular talent for securing coöperation between governmental agencies and private individuals and societies. He has his visions of the country and its welfare, and these are not wholly material. Nevertheless the engineering and economic background of his training and experience are evident in almost everything he undertakes.

*How the Hoover Mind Works*

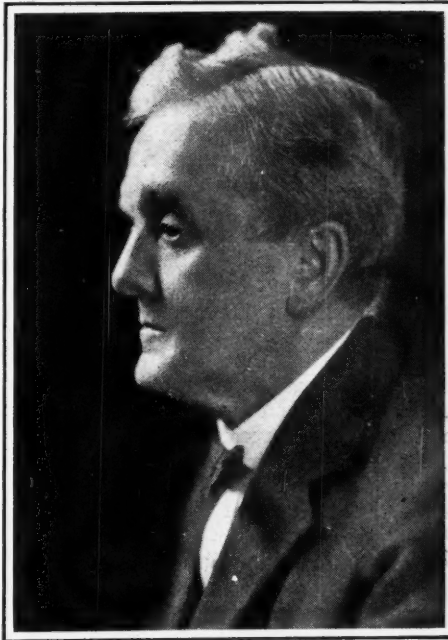
Hoover's Americanism is not chauvinistic; but his internationalism is not of the dreamy and Utopian sort. It would probably be quite impossible for Mr. Hoover to abuse the Democrats with anything like the partisan ferocity of a James A. Reed. He could not even dig the Democrats in the ribs with the cheerful and quite unconvinc-



ing show of partisanship exhibited in Governor Smith's Albany speech, whose "hail-fellow" manner makes friends in both camps. Hoover lives in a time when the constructive mind of the country is not working on the partisan line. He is heartily with the South for the protection of the lower Mississippi Valley and the welfare of its people. He is with the West for Colorado River improvement and other great current projects. He is with the upper Mississippi wheat and cornbelt States for improvement of waterways, particularly the St. Lawrence route to European consumers. He is with the manufacturing and commercial East for American markets, more and better ocean shipping, and larger movement of commodities in world trade. Man to man, in business hours, we all know that the distinction between Republican and Democrat to-day is rather far-fetched and artificial. The parties have their uses as means of keeping interest in public affairs alive, and as helping to bring able public servants into places of authority. But the real civilizing forces of our day are not wasting much energy in the form of old-fashioned political party friction. If Mr. Hoover were nominated by the Republicans, he could stand strongly for the work that the Coolidge Administration has been trying to do in many directions; but he could not bother to think or to speak of Democrats as if they were public enemies. He would be no "spell-binder" on the stump.

*Putting  
Norris Up in  
Protest*

Three or four Western Senators, under the leadership of Senator Borah of Idaho, conferring in Washington during the second week of October, seem to have decided that a Republican candidate ought to be put in the field to emphasize the protest of the progressive West against the possible candidacy of Judge Hughes, the probable candidacy of Secretary Hoover, the assured candidacy of Governor Lowden, and the receptive but obvious candidacy of Vice-President Dawes. Mr. Borah's associates in this enterprise were Senator Brookhart of Iowa, Senator Frazier of North Dakota and Senator Norris of Nebraska. It was agreed by these gentlemen that Senator Norris should be their candidate for the presidency, and that his name should be entered in all the States holding presidential primary elections. It should be explained at once that Senator Norris is far from being a self-



HON. GEORGE W. NORRIS, OF NEBRASKA  
United States Senator since 1913.

seeking aspirant for the presidency. He is a sincere and able member of the Senate, deservedly respected by his colleagues of all shades and varieties of political opinion. If he were nominated and elected, he might make one of the best presidents that the country has ever had. His political creed is decidedly of the kind denoted by the word Progressive, and he is no demagogue. His colleague, Senator Howell, is a man of similar views; but Senator Norris might be regarded as at once the most uncompromising of the Radicals and the one most generally admired and trusted.

*Maroon Them  
on a Peaceful  
Island*

It would be interesting if Messrs. Hughes, Hoover, Lowden, Dawes, and Norris could be sequestered together in some pleasant environment for a month in order to exchange views about our American problems of domestic and foreign policy. It would be worth while to see if they could at the end of informal and strictly private conferences write a Republican platform for 1928 that would in most of its planks have their unanimous concurrence. They would probably agree to try some things—as for instance relative to legislation for farm prosperity—about the success of

which they might not be equally hopeful. They would be especially competent to write a plank on naval policy, one on war debts and European relationships, one on Mexico and our interests there, another on Panama and Nicaragua, and various others that we need not try to specify. The point of our suggestion is that they would be quite likely to find approximate agreement rather than to drift hopelessly apart; and they would almost certainly end in having established a mutual admiration society that would endure until death removed its last survivor. In short, we have some excellent public men in the United States, and they exist in both parties. It would be better worth while to find out where they might be brought into agreement than to try, by false emphasis, to give the public an exaggerated notion of the seriousness of their supposed differences of view.

*The Quality of American Public Life* We do not ask our readers to be unduly complacent regarding our politics and government. There is much room for improvement, and it would be neither intelligent nor in good taste to be boastful or vain-glorious. But we should make the best of things as they are, and should not bemoan the failure of popular government in this period, when many other things besides politics claim our attention. In his Rochester speech, Colonel Roosevelt, reviewing Republican achievements during the past seven years, said:

We have made our mistakes, some of them bad ones; some of our public office-holders have been worthless men—it would be false if we said otherwise. Our average, however, is high, and it is the average that counts. We have a remarkable record of achievement.

Probably Colonel Roosevelt had in mind the so-called oil scandals that led to the retirement of three men from the Cabinet, who had been appointed by President Harding. There has been no attempt to condone the leasing of the Navy's oil resources, and at President Coolidge's direction the civil suits have now resulted in the cancellation of the last of the leases, that of Teapot Dome, by unanimous decision of the Supreme Court last month. It is not so much a question of innocence and guilt and of punishing individuals as of a sincere attempt to maintain the high standards of honor in public life. The Senate will have to face some questions involving honesty

in politics when it debates in December the question whether or not exorbitant expenditures and improper collection of campaign funds ought to disqualify certain men for the seats in the Senate to which they have been elected. Looking forward to the campaign of next year, all good citizens should hope that both parties may succeed in writing sincere platforms, and in finding candidates of the highest type.

*Mexico,  
in  
Contrast*

There is the more incentive to work hopefully for the preservation of our institutions, and for honesty and ability in public office, when we contrast our own conditions with those of some other countries. Mexico also has a Presidential election next year; but the results have been decided in advance by processes of the most terrible and unsettling kind. We are publishing an article by George Wheeler Hinman, Jr., on the sensational situation that was produced by a succession of events of startling rapidity last month. The Mexican Constitution, though it has been changed from time to time as regards the Presidency, now ordains that no man shall be chosen for a second consecutive term. President Calles must therefore retire at the end of his four years, the nominal date for choosing his successor occurring next July. His predecessor in office was President Obregon. When Calles was elected, there was a distinct understanding that he and Obregon would hold the office alternately, and that the influence of the man now in power would be used to bring back the ex-President in 1928. But there are a great many people in Mexico who hold to the doctrine that they call "non-re-election." They want to get rid of continuous rule by one man, or by two or three men conspiring together.

*Election  
by  
Court-Martial*

One of these "Anti" leaders was General Serrano, who had become an active candidate for the Presidency. An older and more conspicuous opponent was General Gomez. Serrano was seized last month by the Federal Army under direction of President Calles, and shot after the pretext of a court-martial. It was planned in like manner to shoot Gomez, who was in hiding after the collapse of the brief revolution. Against these two Presidential candidates it was alleged that they were engaged in bringing about a mutiny of troops, in pursuance of



CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT IN MEXICO, ELIMINATED BY THE FORTUNES OF WAR  
General Arnulfo Gomez, at the left, and General Francisco Serrano, who was executed on October 4.

their design to overthrow the Government. It is not quite clear why this movement should have played so easily into the hands of Calles and Obregon. Capable leaders of revolutions in Mexico have generally used precautions to avoid their own immediate capture. The news from Mexico, at least for some days, was so strictly censored that not even our State Department at Washington felt itself in possession of the real facts. It may be a few weeks before the whole story is available. That a revolution was definitely planned is undoubtedly true. We have evidence on that score from certain Americans of reliable character recently resident in Mexico. Meanwhile, unless a friend of Serrano or Gomez should assassinate him, General Obregon will undoubtedly elect himself President again without any organized show of opposition, and he will undertake to rule Mexico as firmly—through his control of the army—as President Diaz ever governed it.

*Obregon will be a Dictator* Evidently it must be a good while before there can be developed in Mexico a body of intelligent citizens large enough to supersede the militarist dictators, and to carry

on a genuine government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Our author, Mr. Hinman, has had up-to-date experience in Mexico, and writes with first-hand knowledge. It would seem that leadership and control rather than principles were at stake. Obregon now emerges as the strong man, with enemies crushed. He professes to be in full agreement with the Calles policies regarding the Church, and he also upholds those land and oil policies against which the Government of the United States has protested so firmly. Mr. James R. Sheffield, the well-known New York lawyer who in his capacity as Ambassador at Mexico City had made such earnest endeavor to persuade the Calles Government of its mistakes as regards American rights and interests, presented his resignation to President Coolidge during the summer. The post was filled last month by the appointment of Mr. Dwight W. Morrow.

*Mr. Morrow Goes to Mexico*

The acceptance of the appointment by Mr. Morrow aroused the widest interest, not only in North and South America but also in Europe. Mr. Morrow for a number of years has been a valued and influential member of the banking firm of J. P. Morgan

and Company. This firm, in the magnitude of its financial operations and in the personal influence of its distinguished members, has become the foremost private financial organization in the world. Several years ago one of its members, Mr. Lamont, took the lead in assisting the Mexican Treasury to reorganize its foreign debt and to resume the long-interrupted payment of interest. When Mr. Morrow was named for the Ambassadorship, there were certain politicians who rushed into print to suggest that the United States Senate would not ratify the appointment without much cross-examination of the appointee. This, however, was but a momentary note of criticism. It was completely drowned in the acclaim of commendation. The Scriptures tell us that a good name is more to be desired than great riches. We do not happen to know how rich Mr. Morrow may have become through his membership in the Morgan firm; but there can be no doubt about the enviable aspects of his reputation.

*The Man  
and the  
Occasion*

Mr. Morrow has been useful in many public ways, before the war, during that episode, and ever since. He was a classmate of President Coolidge at Amherst College, and has long been one of the most serviceable and influential members of the alumni body. He was secure in the respect and esteem of his business associates; and he accepted the appointment to Mexico because the President asked him, as a good citizen, to undertake a difficult task at a critical time. Nothing could be further from the mood of President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg than a humptious or contentious attitude toward the Government and people of Mexico. It is greatly desired at Washington that we should find some way to live harmoniously with our neighbors south of the Rio Grande, while protecting the lives and the property of our citizens. Mexico is in need of capital from the United States for the development of resources and the furnishing of employment. Scores of thousands of Mexican laborers come not only into the Southwest but also into our upper Mississippi Valley States, seeking work.

*An Example  
for Young  
Citizens*

The new Ambassador may find himself baffled in a mission that he undertakes with good will and high motives. He is a man of rare tact, of fine legal training, and of a patriot-

ism that is compatible with a fair study of the viewpoint of the Mexican Government. The important thing for young Americans in this appointment is the example set by Mr. Dwight Morrow, who brings superior talents to the service of his country, with entire unselfishness and with much personal sacrifice. Fortunately, this view prevails without any dissent. Mr. Morrow was conferring with the President and the State Department early last month, and preparing to go almost at once to the troubled capital of Mexico. There will be no doubt about his confirmation when the Senate meets in December. It may be hard to accomplish much in the field of diplomacy until Obregon actually assumes control. But, at least, the Calles-Obregon dual authority seems to be firmly established.

*Tariff Talk  
Across the  
Atlantic*

Excitement over the much advertised tariff war between France and the United States has abated. Parisian journalists who revel in words, and who would not know a tariff schedule from a Sanskrit dictionary, were warning all the continents to the effect that Uncle Sam was planning to forge bonds of economic servitude upon other countries, merely as a casual detail in his imperialistic career of unsatisfied opulence and vulgar greed. The Foreign Offices and also the financial bureaus that make and unmake French tariffs were appalled when, on October 6th, they learned that our American customs officers had been instructed to raise duties on certain French commodities. This practical reply to the new French tariff, under which American exporters of certain wares pay about four times as much duty to get into the French market as their German competitors pay, made a real sensation. Neither in the French Foreign Office, nor in Commerce Minister Bokanowski's Department, nor even in the American Embassy at Paris, did there appear to be a copy of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff law. Under that measure, which was signed by the President on September 21, 1922, certain rates are automatically raised or lowered if a particular foreign country has taken like action affecting American goods.

*Trivial  
Rate  
Changes*

Changes of this kind have been made, in the routine day's work of the Customs Division of our Treasury Department, a good many times during the past five years. Those



now made that affect French goods are altogether trivial in commercial significance. If you have a fine French automobile, and are ordering a new crankshaft, you will find the duty increased from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. But automobile parts imported from France amount to a very small total. It took some explaining by Secretary Mellon; but finally it came to be understood, to the great relief of French officials, that these were matters of routine under the tariff law long on the statute books, and were no part of an American policy to crush and impoverish France. The foreign journalists do not yet understand about it, but the Parisian fire-eaters have been rather firmly instructed by the French Government to drop the subject.

*"Reciprocity"  
Outside of  
Dictionaries*

Even at Washington, there was some momentary flurry in officialdom. The Hon. Seymour Lowman, formerly Lieutenant Governor of New York, is the new head of the Customs Division in the Treasury Department. He had issued orders to the New York and other custom-house officers regarding these changes of rate on certain French goods.



HON. SEYMOUR LOWMAN

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in Charge of Customs, Coast Guard, and Prohibition.



HON. MAURICE BOKANOWSKI

French Minister of Commerce and Aviation, and a distinguished lawyer, who has represented France in the recent tariff discussions.

To inquiring newspaper men he had remarked in an offhand way that our "policy" was one of "reciprocity" and that rates went up or down according to changes made by other governments. But it so happens that our State Department, in making its protests against the operation of the new French tariff, had explained that our policy was not one of reciprocity, but on the contrary was that of a system of general and uniform rates applying equally to all countries. France pursues a policy entirely different from ours, and has negotiated separate treaties not alone with Germany but also with a number of countries, including England, Belgium, and other important neighbors, fixing rates on the basis of mutual concessions. Obviously, our State Department was entirely accurate. We have a general tariff that applies to all countries, and we do not have special tariff treaties even with so intimate a neighbor as Canada. But Mr. Lowman also was quite correct, because he had a right to take it for granted that every intelligent person knew that the Fordney-McCumber Tariff was a general law. When he said, therefore, that ours was a "policy of reciprocity," he merely meant



that the policy adopted five years ago provided for certain rate changes of a reciprocal nature, while also providing, through large powers given to the President, for flexibility in rates based upon Tariff Commission reports as to relative cost of production. All this of course was readily explained; and everybody apologized for having criticized Mr. Lowman as talking about things that should have been left to his superiors and that were involved in the mysteries of diplomatic interchange.

*Trade With  
France*

We have lately been buying from France goods valued at about \$150,000,000 a year. In return, France has been buying from us commodities of nearly twice that valuation. It would help France if we could make room here for a larger quantity of her distinctive products, many of which belong in the class of luxury articles. Doubtless our own manufacturers are making things that are more worthy to compete with those of France than was the case fifteen or twenty years ago. It is not likely that Congress will change our scheme of a general tariff and adopt the plan of trading and bargaining as to rates with particular countries. This French plan of tariff making has been unanimously condemned by the official Economic Conference recently held at Geneva and by the International Chamber of Commerce at Stockholm. But in the making of our general tariff we are naturally considering the nature and importance of our import trade as well as the interests of our domestic manufacturers. The French Government now expresses entire willingness to have the United States Tariff Commission study costs of production of various French articles. In the making of her tariff arrangements with Germany and other neighbors, there is not the slightest reason to think that France had any idea of discriminating against the United States. She was merely trying to enlarge and improve her commercial relationships in particular directions.

*"Much Noise,  
Little Wool"* The more immediate object of the representations made by Secretary Kellogg and our State Department has been to protect American trade in France by securing a postponement of the imposition of discriminating rates. Meanwhile, it is well for our readers to bear in mind that, at the

worst, these discriminating French duties apply to commodities that represent rather less than 4 per cent. of the total value of what we sell to France. Also, it is to be noted that the increased rates that Mr. Lowman put into effect against French goods apply to only about one-fifteenth of 1 per cent. of the amount in value of our imports from France.

*Tariff  
Revision  
in 1930*

The average time between general revisions of the American tariff has been from six to seven years. We are not likely to see a general revision at the hands of the Seventieth Congress that enters upon its first session in December. But we are to elect a new Congress in November of next year, and we may well expect that the country will demand a general revision of the tariff under the auspices of a new President and a new Congress, probably to take effect in the year 1930. Meanwhile the Tariff Commission ought to be reorganized and instructed to prepare a large number of reports having to do with facts and not with rate opinions, regarding costs and conditions. The present tariff of 1922 was made at a time of transitions in the world of industry and trade. American manufacturers were afraid that we were going to be flooded with cheaply made European goods, as these countries were recovering from the war and trying desperately to regain their economic prosperity. The Tariff Commission in its earlier period was useful in supplying information. It rendered great service to the makers of the Fordney-McCumber measure. But, in its more recent efforts to recommend to the President particular tariff changes, it has come far short of conspicuous success. The world's industrial life has changed so much in the past half dozen years that our tariff schedules from beginning to end ought in the near future to be overhauled from the standpoint of fresh information. Along this line, the United States Chamber of Commerce could be of great service in helping to keep cheap party politics out of the difficult business of tariff-making.

*The Duty  
on Wheat*

One of the few important changes in tariff rates made under the flexible scheme was that which raised the duty on wheat from thirty cents to forty-two cents a bushel, this action having been taken by President

Coolidge in March, 1924, on advice from the Tariff Commission. There are reasons for a reciprocity treaty with Canada that do not apply in equal measure to any other country. It would be a good thing on both sides of the line if we could establish the same freedom of trade with our northern neighbor as we enjoy among our forty-eight States. Canadian wheat moving across our boundary line without paying any duty would not be likely in the long run to do our wheat belt any harm whatsoever. It is not through tariff rates that American agriculture is to find its way to a restored equilibrium. Wheat prices are fixed in the world's markets.

*Helping  
Cotton  
Growers*

The Department of Agriculture is working intelligently to help in reducing the marketing difficulties that are encountered by different crops and different localities. It happens this year that the cotton crop is two or three million bales less than last year, and cotton prices are much more agreeable to the South. But, in years when weather conditions are favorable, and the crop is exceptionally large, the problem of handling the surplus in such a way as to prevent a disastrously low price for the entire quantity produced can only be solved by a variety of agencies working together. There is reason to think that in various ways these improved conditions are coming into existence. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics at Washington is now working with local authorities in several cotton States, notably Georgia and Texas, on various phases of what may be called the cotton problem as a whole. Marketing from the standpoint of the individual producer is never overlooked, but the authorities have not ceased to concern themselves about production. At one time the Department was studying production as against the ravages of the boll weevil. At another time it was dealing with the question of soils and field practices, in order to increase the quantity of cotton fiber per acre. More recently it is working upon the problem of improving the quality.

*Raising  
"Long-Staple"*

The Mayfield Act calls for statistics of cotton grades and of so-called staple lengths. There is an enormous difference in the market price when the fiber approaches an inch in length, as against its grading only

seven-eighths of an inch. It has been found that in Georgia about 30 per cent. of the crop is now of the longer fiber, and thus commands the higher price. The authorities are beginning to say that if 30 per cent. is of the better quality it ought to be possible to increase that percentage very materially, and thus add much to the total value of our American cotton crop. We are actually importing into this country a considerable quantity of the long-staple cotton produced in Egypt and the Sudan. This is an example of the kind of faithful and intelligent work our Department of Agriculture is always trying to accomplish, quite regardless of praise or blame. Its experts in its various bureaus and services are of almost inestimable value to the country. They are our best public servants.

*Ups and  
Downs of Farm  
Coöperation*

As our readers have more than once been informed, the Department of Agriculture has been authorized by Congress to give attention to the coöperative movement for farm marketing. Along that line its investigations and reports will be of steadily increasing value. It will be in position to show the country how necessary it must be to study agricultural problems in all their bearings. Coöperation, for example, is undoubtedly a useful and desirable thing, but it affords no automatic panacea. Coöperation would seem at times to make the farmer's marketing problem so simple and easy that he yields to the temptation to turn with tremendous zeal toward a vastly increased production of a specialty that has been showing profits. Thus in California, where we have thought that agricultural coöperation was on as safe and solid a footing as in Denmark, we are learning that the ordinary law of supply and demand does not step aside for the benefit of enthusiastic producers of prunes or raisins who have built up a marketing system.

*California  
Prunes  
and Grapes*

The production of prunes was indeed large a dozen years ago, but the latest crop is considerably more than three times greater than that of 1914. Consumption has not increased accordingly, and so the supply is now much too great for the available market. At the end of September and the first of October, as many as 1750 carloads of grapes were shipped from California in a single day, with 1500 carloads per diem as

an ordinary average for several other days. It seems that about 65,000 carloads of this year's California grape crop were available for shipment; but this means an enormous increase in the total product during the past three or four years, and it is said that a part at least of this crop has had to be sold at prices that barely pay the cost of packing and transportation. This is not to sound a note of disheartenment about California. The great citrus fruit industry of that State is in no financial difficulty whatever; and the cattle business, also organized coöperatively, is highly flourishing. In particular specialties, like tobacco, prunes, raisins, grapes, fresh milk and dairy products, coöperative enterprise here and there has been meeting with difficulties which—for the time being—seem to be summed up in the word "overproduction."

*Cuba and  
the Sugar  
Situation*

One of the foremost topics in the economic world is that of sugar production and the stabilization of prices. We are doing fairly well with beet sugar in America, this creating an additional crop for farmers. Cuba is undertaking an official scheme of control over the Island's principal industry. The authorities there have studied Brazil's regulation of the coffee business, and Great Britain's ingenious intervention to make the American automobile owner pay a good price for rubber tires. American money is so extensively invested in the Cuban sugar industry, and in so many other ways Cuba's prosperity is bound up with our own, that the United States has only good wishes for the success of Cuba's economic statesmanship in the sphere of its saccharine output. The per capita consumption of sugar has been steadily increasing for a long time; but—now that Europe has restored its beet-sugar industry since the war—the supply easily keeps pace with the demand.

*Mr. Coolidge  
May Visit  
Havana*

The peculiarly close relations between Cuba and the United States will be emphasized in January, when the Pan-American Congress meeting at Havana, as is now expected, will have for one of its features an address by President Coolidge in person. American Presidents have very rarely left the continental United States for any reason whatsoever. Secretary Kellogg and other American officials are expected at the Havana

Congress. There is the sharpest kind of competition on foot for the supply of Latin-American markets, and it is for us to cultivate good relations by all suitable means. During and after the war, the United States was in a position of easy trade superiority. But the British have been making strenuous efforts to regain their South American commerce, and Germany's efforts in that direction are even more successful. South America needs the development of her resources and the upbuilding of her industries. We could sell the South Americans automobiles by the scores of thousands; but first we must help them to finance the building of automobile highways. We are sending billions of dollars of American investment money to various parts of the world. It would be advantageous to us to give preference, in so far as is possible, to the use of our capital in western hemisphere countries whose trade we desire, rather than to use it for the strengthening of the European industrial districts that are competing with us for this very Latin-American trade.

*Investment  
Chances of  
Many Kinds*

We are publishing a timely and notable article on the nature and growth in this country of "Investment Trusts." Many years ago, the American investor was urged to put his money in Western farm mortgages. More recently he has been encouraged to buy municipal and other tax-exempt bonds, issued for improvement purposes throughout the country, especially in the South, where roads and schoolhouses are greatly in demand. Still more recently, we have had urged upon us a vast number of European and foreign loans, distributed at a modest profit to themselves by our international banking houses with the coöperation of many local bond and investment institutions. So much of a world money market has New York become that the Stock Exchange has entered upon a plan for the listing here of selected stocks and bonds that are regularly bought and sold on the London, Paris, Berlin and other exchanges. But with the multiplication of investment opportunities, the thrifty person of small or moderate means is often in doubt as to how to proceed. Investors of that character in England and Scotland have for a good while past found it advantageous to put some of their money in the securities of what are known as "investment trusts."

*What of the  
"Investment  
Trusts"?*

A great number of these have sprung up in the United States. Some of them are reliable beyond all reasonable doubt. They employ large assets and distribute their investments very widely, using expert knowledge. The State of New York has set up a so-called Anti-Stock Fraud Bureau with powers of investigation; and just now Mr. Timothy Shea, a Brooklyn lawyer of good standing—having been appointed an Assistant Attorney-General to carry on the work of that bureau—is inquiring into the methods and the operation of these investment trusts. This Anti-Stock Fraud Bureau has already done good work in other directions; and its inquiries are warmly welcomed by those investment trusts that are well organized, that have ample resources, and that work in close relationship with well-known banks and investment houses. The State has for a long time exercised supervision over insurance companies, and has regularly examined banks and trust companies. It would seem desirable that it should also bring under like supervision the numerous so-called investment trusts that are seeking the confidence and patronage of the public.

*New York's  
Means of  
Access*

Other of our articles in the present number tell the story of the new traffic tunnel under the Hudson River that modifies the position of Manhattan as an island, and of the projected Hudson bridge at New York City. These engineering triumphs will be followed by others that will play their parts in shaping the future of the world's greatest metropolitan community. Ground was broken several weeks ago at both ends for the actual construction of the piers that will support the suspension bridge connecting the upper part of New York City with New Jersey. This will be the greatest bridge ever undertaken. It will be easily paid for in a few years by tolls collected from automotive vehicles, and will then be made free. Among local New York topics of the past month, the foremost one has had to do with conflicting proposals for the unification of the several systems of rapid transit. Other phases of the matter are held in abeyance, while the dispute rages chiefly about the question whether or not the five-cent fare can be maintained.

*Planning  
Washington's  
Future*

At the nation's capital, work is going on that will result in the completion by 1930 of the great Memorial Bridge across the Potomac at a point in line with the Capitol building, the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial on the District of Columbia side, and Arlington Cemetery on the Virginia side. A great discussion has begun regarding the future of the adjacent Potomac River Valley, to the north and west of Washington. Only a few miles from the city is a wild and picturesque district surrounding the Great Falls of the Potomac. The best authorities, looking ahead, seek to preserve the shores of the Potomac, and the area surrounding the Great Falls, for park and recreation purposes and for landscape improvement. As against this admirable program, certain outside promoters seeking opportunities to develop water power, are trying to get control of the Potomac for a series of dams and hydro-electric plants all the way from Harper's Ferry to the edge of the District of Columbia. Meanwhile, there is no evidence that any advantage whatever would be derived by the city of Washington from this proposed exploitation. There is no demand for electric power that cannot be readily supplied at reasonable rates, without any present or future destruction of the scenic character of the Potomac in the vicinity of the capital city that belongs to the whole nation. Mistakes enough have been made in the development of the District of Columbia and its environs, without adding one more example.

*Normal  
Social  
Progress*

A new school year finds more pupils in all ranks and grades, from kindergarten to the most advanced institutions, than in any previous year. Teachers are more intelligent, and parents more concerned for the well-being of their children, than ever before in our country's history. Those who warn us that the American family is disintegrating, and that our general social conditions are in a state of change for the worse, are not competent observers. They see things in spots, and utterly fail to see the whole picture in true perspective. Specialists in lunacy or in divorce-court conditions are not of necessity the best judges of mental or social normality in the nation at large.



# A Record of Current Events

FROM SEPTEMBER 15 TO OCTOBER 14, 1927

## MEMORIAL CELEBRATIONS

September 23.—At Halethorpe, Md., the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad celebrates its centenary by a "Fair of the Iron Horse."

October 8.—Saratoga, N. Y., celebrates the defeat of the British General Burgoyne 150 years ago in one of the decisive battles of the Revolution.

Burlington, N. J., observes its 250th anniversary.

October 10.—At Chadd's Ford, Pa., the Battle of the Brandywine is celebrated by a distinguished company of foreign and domestic officials.

## AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 17.—William Gibbs McAdoo (Dem.) announces that he will not run for the Presidency.

September 20.—In New Jersey, four out of five proposed constitutional amendments fail and a zoning provision is carried on referendum vote . . . The Vare (Rep.) ticket wins in Philadelphia primaries, and in New York City, Tammany (Dem.) regulars carry every district; sharp fights develop in Rochester and Buffalo. . . . Gangsters riot in Pittsburgh primaries.

September 21.—Officials of New York and New Jersey break ground on both sides of the Hudson River for a \$6,000,000 bridge to be completed in five years, at New York City.

September 22.—Mayor John L. Duvall of Indianapolis is convicted of bribery.

October 3.—President Coolidge opens the annual convention of the American Red Cross at Washington, D. C.

Henry H. Horton, Speaker of Tennessee Senate, succeeds the late Austin Peay as Governor.

October 10.—The United States Supreme Court unanimously holds void for fraud the Teapot Dome Naval Reserve oil-land lease negotiated by former Secretary Albert B. Fall with Harry F. Sinclair; the property is restored to the Government, as was the Elk Hills lease to Edward L. Doheny.

## AVIATION

September 16.—The Aeronautical Branch of the Department of Commerce announces that more than 12,000,000 miles were covered in civil flying in the United States in the first half of 1927; 395,000 passengers, 621,236 lbs. of mail, and 1,045,222 lbs. of express matter were carried.

September 19-20.—A transcontinental airplane derby race from Roosevelt Field, N. Y., to Spokane, Wash., is won by C. W. Holman, of St. Paul, in Class A, \$10,000 (2340 mi. in 16 hrs., 42 min., 52 sec.) and by C. W. Myers in Class B, \$5000; eight out of fifteen starters finish in Class A and ten out of twenty-five in Class B.

September 26.—The Schneider Cup race, held this year at Venice, is won by a British monoplane flown

by Lieut. S. N. Webster, at an average speed of 281 m.p.h., over a 217 mi. course.

October 10-14.—Dieudonne Costes flies from Paris to Port Natal, Brazil, making a stop at St. Louis, Senegal.

October 11-13.—Ruth Elder and George Halde- man, in a single-motored monoplane, fly from New York for Paris; they are picked up by a Dutch steamer off the Azores, having flown a record distance of 2,600 miles over the ocean.

## FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 15.—Irish Free State elections result in victory for President Cosgrave; the Government holds 61 seats, Farmers 6, Independents 12, the total coalition controlling 79; Fianna Fail secures 57 seats, Labor 13, National League 2, Irish Workers 1, making a total Opposition of 73 seats.

September 21.—In Southern China, Gen. Ho Ying-ching (successor of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek as Nationalist commander-in-chief) controls Shanghai area and the Province of Chekiang.

September 27.—The wife of Premier Mussolini of Italy gives birth to a son, who will be named Romano; he is the fourth child.

September 30.—Leon Trotzky and M. Vuyovich are expelled from the Communist International by the Soviet Presidium of Russia.

October 3.—In Mexico, a revolution breaks out, headed by Arnulfo Gomez and Francisco Serrano, who are opposed to another term for former President Alvaro Obregon (see page 462).

Shansi troops in China capture Kalgan from the Northerners; Yen Hsi-chan leads his victorious Shansi forces toward Peking.

October 10.—The new Spanish National Assembly is inaugurated by King Alfonso.

Shansi forces in China are defeated by Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria, aided by Mongol cavalry.

October 12.—Richard Bedford Bennett is chosen as the Conservative party leader in Canada by the party convention at Winnipeg.

The Dail Eireann ratifies the Cosgrave Cabinet, voting 76 to 70.

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 15.—Canada, Cuba, and Finland are elected to the Council of the League of Nations as non-permanent members.

September 18.—United States Ambassador Joseph C. Grew arrives at Angora, the Turkish capital.

September 19.—Hungary rejects a proposed solution of the Rumanian Transylvania land claims of expropriated Hungarians offered by the League Council, asking reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion.

September 20.—Dwight W. Morrow, the New



York banker, is appointed Ambassador to Mexico (see frontispiece and page 463).

September 22.—The American Legion convention at Paris ends with the election of Edward Elwell Spafford of New York as National Commander.

September 24.—The League Assembly unanimously adopts a resolution that "all wars of aggression are and always shall be prohibited and that every pacific means must be employed to settle disputes of every description which may arise between States."

September 27.—The League Assembly ends its session at Geneva.

October 1.—France refuses to grant the United States a most-favored-nation treatment on tariffs.

October 2.—The French Council of Ministers requests Soviet Russia to recall its Ambassador, Christian Rakovsky, as no longer persona grata.

October 6-7.—At Istip, Yugoslavia, Brigadier-General Kovachevitch of Yugoslavia is assassinated by Bulgarian irregulars.

#### NOTES ON ECONOMICS

September 21.—Roy Archibald Young, of Minneapolis, is appointed to succeed D. R. Crissinger as Governor of the Federal Reserve Board.

September 25.—The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics announces that building permits for the first half of 1927 totalled \$1,381,910,891 in eighty cities of 100,000 population or more; seventy-eight of these cities reported in first half of 1926 permits amounting to \$1,474,785,929.

October 1.—The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway is valued at \$558,914,672 by the Interstate Commerce Commission for rate-making purposes, as of June 30, 1918.

The Illinois coal strike ends with acceptance of the old Jacksonville wage scale.

October 2.—Ten million horse-power of hydro-electric and steam-generated super-power is "hooked up" between Pensacola and Boston and from Tennessee to the Carolinas with Philo, Ohio, as the load center of a 1,000-mile triangular system.

October 4.—The New York Stock Exchange registers sales of 3,152,473 shares, the fifth largest day in the history of the exchange.

A World Radio Conference is opened at Washington by President Coolidge; seventy-one nations are represented by 400 delegates.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

September 22.—Gene Tunney, of New York, retains his world heavyweight championship in a ten-round match at Chicago with Jack Dempsey.

Doubleday, Page & Co., publishers, announce a merger with George H. Doran Co. to be known after January 1 as Doubleday, Doran & Co.; the merger takes place at once, and includes William Heinemann, Ltd., of London.

September 29.—St. Louis, in a five-minute tornado, loses 90 dead, 1,500 injured, and about \$75,000,000 property damage.

October 2.—At Shanghai, 94 Chinese delegates of sixteen Protestant denominations organize a consolidated Church of Christ in China.

Roosevelt medals for distinguished service are awarded to Gen. John J. Pershing; Herbert C.

Hoover, Secretary of Commerce; and John Bassett Moore, American Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

October 6.—George Palmer Putnam, publisher and explorer, returns with his party from Baffin Land with records of flora, fauna, and Eskimos.

October 11.—Ocean City, N. J., is the victim of a \$4,000,000 fire.

#### OBITUARY

September 16.—Rear-Admiral Benjamin Franklin Hutchison, U. S. N., 59. . . . James Henry Higgins, former Governor of Rhode Island, 51.

September 18.—Charles R. Miller, ex-Governor of Delaware, 70. . . . Elsie Fay, comedienne, 46.

September 19.—Rudolph Kauffmann, managing editor of Washington *Evening Star*, 73. . . . James Ross Clark, banker of California, 76. . . . Prof. Adrian Stokes, noted British pathologist, 40.

September 20.—James S. Harlan, formerly of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 65. . . . Michael Ancher, Danish marine painter, 78.

September 21.—Marshall Hubert Mallory, long publisher of the *Churchman* (Episcopal), 84.

September 22.—Rev. Dr. Rudolph Grossman, eminent Rabbi, 60. . . . Frank Springer, noted paleontologist and author, 79. . . . Sir Arthur Everett Shipley, British Educator, 66.

September 23.—Baron Ago von Maltzan, German Ambassador to Washington, D. C., 49. . . . Brig.-Gen. Lloyd M. Brett, U. S. A., retired, noted Indian fighter, 72.

September 24.—Hugh Bolton Jones, artist, 78.

September 26.—Col. Henry Mapleson, impresario, 76. . . . Dr. Immanuel Moses Casanowicz, archeologist, of the U. S. National Museum, 74.

September 28.—Festus John Wade, St. Louis banker, 67.

September 29.—Howard Jason Rogers, lawyer and Red Cross executive, 65. . . . Prof. Willem Einthoven, Dutch physician, 67.

September 30.—Dr. Gilbert Reid, Presbyterian missionary to China, 70. . . . Celestin Augustin Charles Jonnart, French diplomat, 70.

October 1.—Prof. Samuel Garman, Massachusetts naturalist, 84. . . . Hal A. C. Morrison, Georgia portrait painter, 74.

October 2.—Gov. Austin Peay, of Tennessee, 51. . . . Brig.-Gen. Henry Larcom Abbott, U. S. A., retired, 96. . . . Azariah Smith Root, librarian of Oberlin College, 65. . . . Prof. Svante August Arrhenius, 68, noted Swedish chemist, 68.

October 3.—John Dalzell, for a quarter-century member of Congress from Pennsylvania, 82.

October 5.—Sam. L. Warner, motion-picture leader, 40.

October 8.—The Rt.-Rev. Peter J. Muldoon, Catholic Bishop of Rockford, Ill., 64.

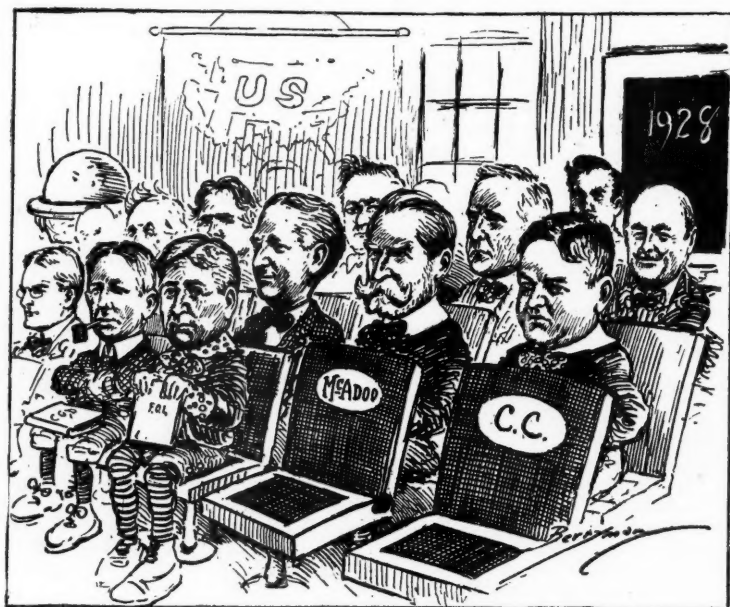
October 9.—Francis Lyman Hine, banker, 76. . . . Charles Sumner Bird, Massachusetts paper manufacturer, 72. . . . Lieut.-Col. John F. Dillon, U. S. A., retired, of Federal Radio Commission, 61.

October 10.—Leopold Bache, well-known banker and broker, 61.

October 11.—William J. Kelly, Presiding Justice of N. Y. Appellate Division, 67.

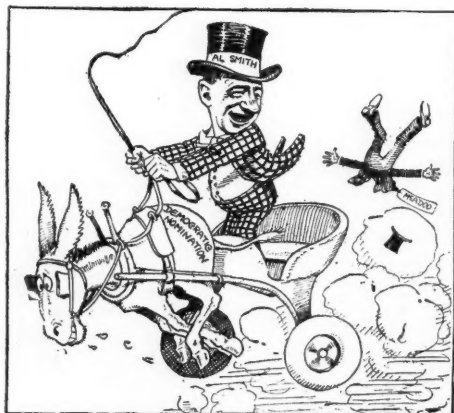
# McAdoo · Smith · Tariff

## Topics in the Month's Cartoons



THE VACANT CHAIRS AT THE OPENING OF SCHOOL

By Berryman, in the *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.)



THE NEW YORK GOVERNOR WILL HAVE EVERYTHING HIS OWN WAY NOW

By Shafer, in the *Times Star* (Cincinnati, Ohio)



AFTER TRYING EIGHT YEARS TO SADDLE THE DONKEY, MR. McADOO "DOES NOT CHOOSE"

By Orr, in the *Tribune* (Chicago, Ill.)



MR. MCADOO STANDS ASIDE FOR THE BENEFIT OF MISS DEMOCRACY

By McCutcheon, in the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



SEEKING A DRY DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE

By Berryman, in the *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.)



IT'S APT TO BE STORMY, TOO!

By Sykes, in the *Evening Post* (New York City)



SUICIDE IS NOT AL'S SPECIALTY

From the *Morning Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)

A NEW MEMBER

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)

Just as the Coolidge statement in August, "I do not choose to run," completely altered the trend of Republican presidential politics, so did Mr. McAdoo's announcement six weeks later change the Democratic line-up. The President stepped aside as a matter of personal choice, Mr. McAdoo as a means of avoiding a repetition of the pre-convention strife within his party four years ago. Will Governor Smith follow suit, or will he now have a clear field? These are questions that result from the McAdoo withdrawal.



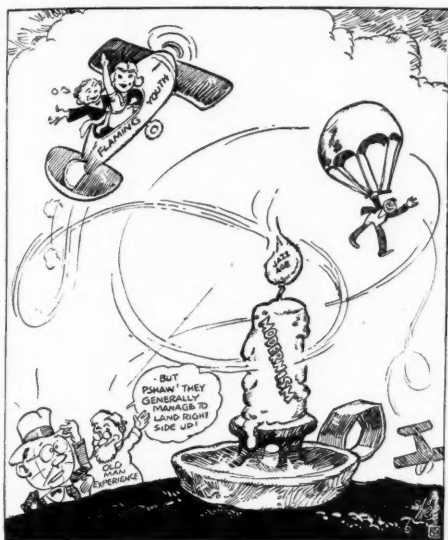
THE ONLY CONVEYANCE IN SIGHT

From the *Herald Tribune* (New York City)

SHE'S GOING TO BE HARD TO SADDLE

From the *News* (Cleveland, Ohio)





STUNT-FLYING—THAT'S ALL!

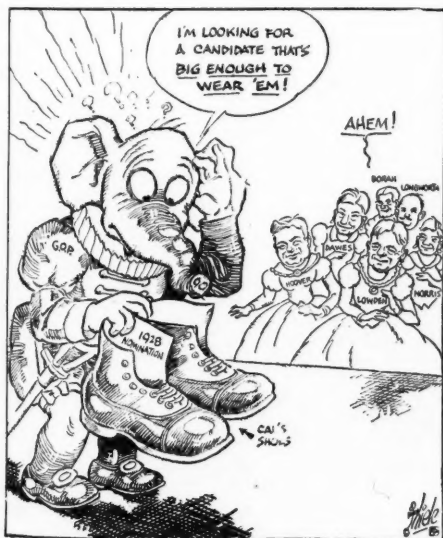
They generally manage to land right side up.  
From the *Argus* (Mount Vernon, New York)



"EAST SIDE!—WEST SIDE?"

The Smith boom extends westward.  
From the *Chronicle* (Augusta, Georgia)

The four cartoons reproduced on this page are all the work of a single artist, although they were published in cities widely separated. A present-day phase of journalism is the extensive use of syndicated material, including cartoons. Thus the readers of the Mount Vernon *Argus*, the Augusta *Chronicle*, the Burlington *Hawkeye*, the Albuquerque *Journal*, and a score of other papers, have the advantage of talent of a higher order than any one of these publications would be justified in employing exclusively for its own constituency. Mr. L. E. Thiele, cartoonist for papers served by the Central Press Association, was first introduced to our readers years ago when he was drawing daily cartoons for the Sioux City *Tribune*. He remained in Iowa for twelve years with the exception of a period devoted to a training-camp paper. For the past two years he has been syndicating the product of his pen to a nation-wide audience.



## CINDERELLA SLIPPERS—AN OLD STORY SLIGHTLY REVISED

From the *Hawkeye* (Burlington, Iowa)



AS A "BACK-SEAT DRIVER" MR. McADOO IS STILL TO BE RECKONED WITH!

From the *Journal* (Albuquerque, New Mexico)



UNCLE SAM IS BEING HIGH-HATTED

From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

"LET'S BOTH CLIMB DOWN"

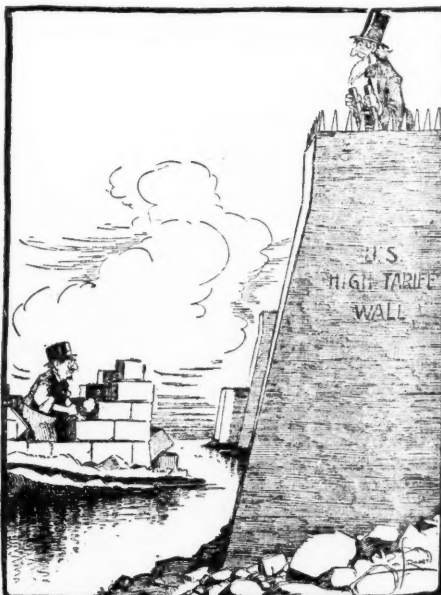
From the *Evening World* (New York City)

The new French tariff law, published in September, radically increases the duties imposed upon certain classes of goods imported from the United States. It seems that we sell France about twice as much as we buy from her, and France would keep some of this trade money at home in order to pay war debts. The increase in tariff rates was not only large but it tended to operate to the advantage of other nations—Germany, for example. Therefore the Government at Washington saw fit to protest.



IT MAKES A DIFFERENCE

"How the apothecary did squirm when forced to swallow a dose of his own medicine, out of which he had made so much wealth."—Smollett.

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada)

PREPOSTEROUS!

UNCLE SAM: "What's this? France emulating my architecture. Why, the idea! I am deeply shocked."

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada)



**A WASTED JOURNEY**—From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales)  
The Irish election of September 15 failed to alter materially the party line-up in the Dail.



**NAVAL LIMITATION**  
UNCLE SAM (to Britain and Japan, who failed to reach agreement with him): "The question is now closed. I shall build dreadnaughts, cruisers, and submarines."

From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)



**THE OUTSIDER**  
JOHN BULL (looking on while France welcomes Uncle Sam at the Legion convention): "They seem to be celebrating some victory or other."

From the *Daily Record* (Glasgow, Scotland)

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# The New Hoover

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BY WILLIAM HARD

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THE one question about Mr. Hoover now is:

What sort of President would he make?

For some ten years, as a Washington correspondent, I have observed and reported, sometimes admiringly, sometimes critically, Mr. Hoover's activities—and his ideas.

In the course of that time I have seen a certain misconception about him steadily fade. I have also seen his own philosophy of government get developed by experience into final form. I have also seen him himself become more and more (and I use the word with profound respect) political.

To be political is simply to be aware of, and to make use of, the living forces which raise and support the structure of government. To be merely administrative is to be manicuring a coral-reef. To be political is to be recognizing and organizing the coral-insects. There are, it is true, non-political personages in our public life. They are kept there, however, by politicians. A public man has one of just two choices. He can be the creature of politicians or he can be political himself. It is the latter choice that gives him in practice a wider range of freedom and of service.

When Mr. Hoover came to Washington in 1917 to undertake the office of war-time Food Administrator he was quite non-political, indeed.

The change in him in this respect I will at this point merely passingly illustrate.

Mr. Hoover has now managed to secure the enactment by the Senate and the House of Representatives of virtually every piece of legislation which he at any time, as Secretary of Commerce, has formulated and recommended. Some twenty such measures, including many of the highest importance (as, for instance, the act establishing and organizing the Foreign Commerce Service of the United States), are to-day upon our statute-books.

Now, it is never merit alone that pro-

duces such an achievement. Secretary of State John Hay had merit. Yet he was so enraging to politicians that ultimately the Senate of the United States descended to the fathomless meanness of refusing to allow him to accept from the French Government a harmless decoration of proffered honor.

Nor am I much impressed by the idea that Mr. Hoover's success on Capitol Hill is connected somehow or other with his being a great engineer. I calculate that when our eugenists have succeeded in reducing marriage to the principles of physiology, it will be time enough to expect our political scientists to reduce government to the principles of engineering. Till then I expect to have to continue to report that the getting of laws through Congress requires argument indeed, but also—very also—address and accommodation.

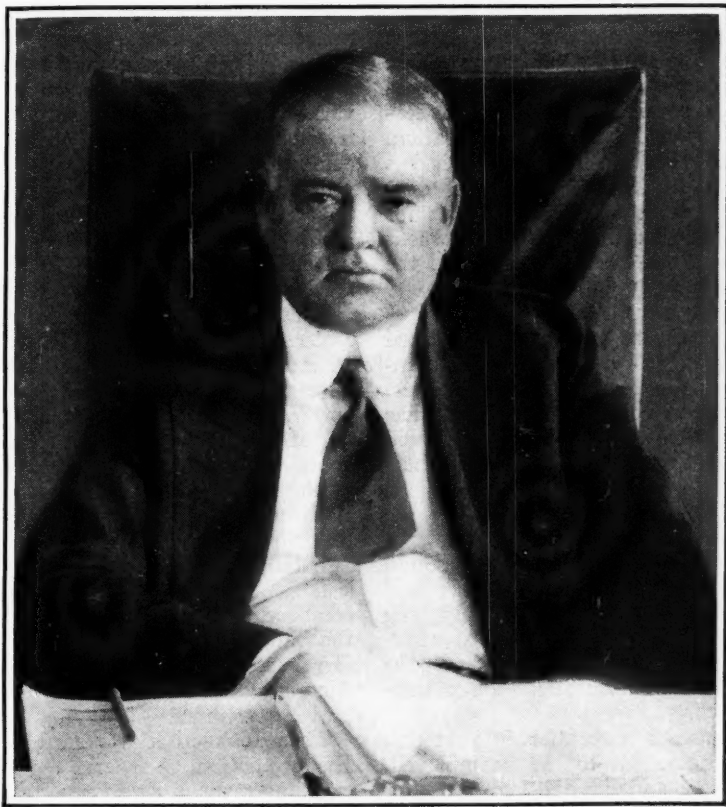
## *Administration Plus Coöperation*

It requires—in other words—the co-operative spirit. Mr. Hoover has it. Mr. Hoover, with all his shyness, with all his glances away from people to the floor, with all his funny fidgets of cabalistic and cubistic pencilings on papers when he might be clapping the backs of his visitors, is to-day one of the most politically coöperative statesmen that Washington in our times has ever known.

But, to trace the origin and to expound the nature of this fact, I must now return to the misconception about him which I have said that I have seen steadily fade.

In 1917 Mr. Hoover was regarded as being a man engaged in playing some sort of magical, mystical game of super-human solitaire. It was noted that administratively he was gigantic. It was noted that personally he was almost shrinking. One and one were put together to produce a most engaging and impressive myth.





HON. HERBERT HOOVER

Mr. Hoover, it was declared, was (so to speak) a celestial mental machine seated on top of a pedestal far above the reach of the mundane eye and accomplishing tornadoes and tidal-waves of effort and efficiency on all continents and all seas by sheer radiation of pure intelligence through the void and invisible ether.

It seems incredible now that this myth should ever have been able to impose itself upon Washington. We were already familiar, in 1917, with Mr. Hoover's Belgian Relief. Yet I remember that not once did I really penetrate the Hoover mythology on towards some comprehension of the Hoover reality till in 1920 I happened to be in Vienna in Austria and happened to observe Mr. Hoover's American Relief Administration at work feeding Viennese children.

I noted then, if I may put it with exaggeration, that just about everybody in Vienna who was not occupied in being fed by Mr. Hoover was occupied in helping

Mr. Hoover to do the feeding. For every American serving as an assistant to Mr. Hoover in Vienna there were literally more than one thousand Austrians so serving him. The American "over-head" was, in bulk, nothing. The massive phenomenon was the use of, and the release of, Austrian initiative, Austrian energy, Austrian goodwill.

#### *An Organizer of People*

Mr. Hoover, I began to think to myself, is not precisely figured forth by the image of a machine. He seems more to resemble a bacillus. He gets cast into this Austrian culture and medium, and lo! swarms and swarms of Bacilli Hooveriani swimming about and doing his work for him and propagating Hooverism!

I let my mind turn back then to Mr. Hoover's Belgian Relief. On reflection, and on further inquiry, I noted that in feeding Belgium Mr. Hoover did more than feed Belgium. He brought a vast

multitude of people together in an association which could not perish. To rescue Belgium he formed an organization which, upon the completion of the rescuing, could not die. It became the Commission-for-Relief-in-Belgium Educational Foundation. It lives still. In five years lately it has expended more than \$600,000 on educational endeavors of numerous sorts for the benefit of Belgium and for the benefit of the relations between Belgium and the United States.

In political terms, I said to myself:

"Mr. Hoover has not merely organized Belgian Relief. He has not merely organized a passing philanthropy. He has organized a permanent fellowship. He has organized a Belgian Relief party. I will watch this supposedly non-political character some more."

#### *The Activities of a Secretary of Commerce*

Returning to the United States, I found Mr. Hoover Secretary of Commerce and already in the thick of those appalling labors which now are the chief instant alleged proof, or disproof, of his fitness for the presidency. I flinch from even the enumerating of them.

The stimulated restoration in 1921 and 1922 of employment to the unemployed. The producing and distributing thereafter of enlarged and improved statistical information for the purpose of checking excessive "booms" in order thereby to avoid and prevent the old ensuing excessive collapses and "slumps." The simultaneous enormous reducing of seasonal annual unemployment through the promoting of the lengthening of the working-year in the building industry and on railroads. Literally millions of Americans in the last seven years have had more work, more livelihood, because of Mr. Hoover's humanitarian interest and scientific leadership in the regulating and subduing of that scourge of the human race, the "business cycle."

Then the promotion of the coming dam in the Colorado River. The promotion of the coming canal in the St. Lawrence River. The promotion of a comprehensive scheme for the developing of all our navigable rivers into grouped regional systems of inland navigation. The conservation of the salmon in the rivers of Alaska. The rescue of the sufferers in the floods of the Mississippi River. The promotion of an adequate final restraining of the Missis-

issippi River. The legislative lessening of the pollution of our harbors by industrial wastes. The increase in the number of black bass and rainbow trout in our vacation-time fishing-streams. Mr. Hoover is sometimes twitted at Washington with being the statesman of water. He is even provided by his joking friends with a political water-platform. "More water in the North, less water in the South, and better fishing-holes everywhere."

Then his international activities. His upbuilding of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Commerce Department into being a genuine "service bureau" for the individual American exporter, no matter how small. His participation in the settlements of the European debts to the American Treasury. His feeding of Russia in its days of famine. His combat against artificially high prices fixed upon us by foreign combinations in essential commodities. His resolute resistance to the financing of such foreign combinations by American capital against the interest of the American consumer. His successful rectification, by law, of American taxation on Americans doing business in China.

Then his activities regarding the air. His promotion of federal regulation and encouragement of aviation.

Then his activities regarding the ether. His promotion of federal regulation and pacification of radio-broadcasting.

Then his activities regarding the American sub-soil. His earnest and successful support of legislation for more and better exploring for mines of potash and for wells of helium-gas.

Then his activities regarding American business practice. His pertinacious and effective encouragement of legitimate trade associations among our business men. His gradual simplification, with Congressional approval, of our patent laws. His leadership in the movement toward standardizing useful types and toward eliminating useless types of commodities in industry. His incalculably valuable contribution (accordingly) to that national American daily abhorrence and avoidance of industrial waste-motions which can justly be said to be one of the longest levers by which we have raised ourselves to our present prosperity.

Then—

But I refrain from protracting the list.

It is admitted on all hands that Mr. Hoover has traveled around a wider arc of the circle of federal governmental functions and opportunities than anybody else. Mr. S. Parker Gilbert, Jr., now head of the operations of the Dawes Plan at Berlin, once jestingly and admiringly referred to Mr. Hoover as "Secretary of Commerce and Under-Secretary of all other Departments."

President Coolidge has appreciated Mr. Hoover's diligence. Mr. Hoover is the Shakespearian Harry Hotspur of the Coolidge Administration, "he that kills me some six or seven dozens of Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands and says to his wife, 'Fie upon this quiet life! I want work.'" Mr. Coolidge, recognizing this situation and fearing the effects of idleness upon Mr. Hoover, has now by executive order transferred to him in the Commerce Department from the Department of the Interior the administration and management of the Pension Bureau and of the Bureau of Mines. And still Mr. Hoover finds time for his energetic services as president or chairman of great private humanitarian enterprises such as the American Child Health Association, "Better Homes in America," and the National Research Endowment, which is now raising a fund of \$20,000,000 for the furthering of laboratory progress in pure science.

#### *Aided by a Vivid Imagination*

This phase of him—the administrative phase—unfolds itself before observers in two stages.

One notices first the vividness of his imagination. He does not bring to any problem the push of efficiency only. He brings to it also the light of fancy. In an interview I had with him once regarding a dam in some river he casually observed that it would be a good thing to get all our rivers under full human control, "because engineers could construct waterfalls much more beautiful than the accidental encounters of waters and precipices which Nature has blindly stumbled into creating without preparation and without proportion." I remember that I was quite appalled by this blasphemy at the time, but I have to confess that I at once began seeing waterfalls with an eye that could envisage their improvement. With Mr. Hoover there is nothing that is wholly arrived, nothing that is beyond improvement, somehow.

On that point I cannot refrain from narrating a remark which I once, without any impropriety, overheard from him in conversation with a Supreme Court justice. The justice was concerned about the location of the new proposed Supreme Court building. I thought that for once Mr. Hoover would certainly be at a loss. Not having any idea of my own as to where the building should go, I naturally hoped that Mr. Hoover had none. My cheerful anticipations were instantly frustrated. Mr. Hoover not only had an idea but he evidently had been considering the matter and had it all worked out.

He would make Washington's architecture preach the Constitution. The Federal Government, he said, stood on a tripod. One leg was the legislative. It had a monumental building of its own on Capitol Hill. The second leg was the executive. It had an impressive dwelling in the White House. The third leg was the judicial. It was equal in importance with the others. This fact ought to be made visible to all American citizens visiting Washington. The building to house the nine judges of the Supreme Court would be small. It ought not to be placed anywhere near the Capitol or the White House. They would dwarf it. Lines of proper length should be drawn from the Capitol and from the White House to a totally vacant spot in Potomac Park. There a small building, with a nobly proportioned dome, could be made to look large, could be made to have dignity, could be made to represent the independent power and grandeur of the Judicial Branch.

Planning, playing, working, chatting, Mr. Hoover is always creating, always imagining.

#### *He Makes Quick Decisions*

Next one notes his decisiveness. It is instant. As soon as he began to do his flood-relief work in the valley of the Mississippi, he had to rig up a special telephone circuit, all his own, starting from his private railroad car, wherever it might be, in a great central railroad station or on a remote siding in uninhabited country, and extending to every point of importance in the whole flooded area. Over this circuit Mr. Hoover with his own hands could instantly ring himself into speech with any one of his key-men at any post from Memphis to Cairo as conveniently as

people talk to one another over a private telephone system within one building. Mr. Hoover needed that rapidity of communication. He is the precise opposite of a governmental red-tape worm. He decides at once. He gets the decision into action at once. He goes on. I calculate that one reason why he can do so much work without fatigue is that he keeps it on the move. He does not keep it on his chest. It does not burden him. At almost the same moment when it greets him, it is behind him.

Very well then. Super-imagination. Super-decisiveness. Super-industriousness. Super-efficiency. High merits! Yet, by themselves, they certainly would not, to my mind, establish their possessor's fitness for the presidency.

A President may or may not be a great administrator. He must be, in a way, in a deeply important way, a prophet. He must have a conception of national destiny. And, lest he be a false prophet, he must derive that conception from really knowing his people. American destiny, whatever else it may be, will be American. A President may be able to prophesy an American millennium. He must prophesy it on American ground.

An administrative celestial machine, with an altitude record and an unstoppable motor and no landing-fields, might give us one of the most un-American and thereupon one of the most dangerous and disastrous experiences in our history.

#### *Private Citizens in Public Affairs*

I accordingly return to the flippant and impudent analogy I have drawn between Mr. Hoover and a bacillus. I return to it to note that the swarms of Bacilli Hooveriani propagating Hooverism in Belgium and in Austria and in other European countries have now been succeeded and supplemented by innumerable similar swarms in the United States of America.

I note—that is—that Mr. Hoover, the public man, is an unprecedented organizer of private citizens for public purposes.

Does Mr. Hoover find in his Department of Commerce a Bureau of Fisheries? He persuades Congress to pass a law establishing an advisory committee of private citizens to help him manage it.

Does he wish to cause the Bureau of Fisheries, in the midst of its less serious and merely commercial ministrations, to

provide more coy trout for the crafty fisherman with a fly or feather and more angry bass for the defiant fisherman with a lure of tin? He persuades a hundred or more of sports clubs to adopt the baby fishes of the Bureau of Fisheries and to feed them and rear them in watery orphanages at private expense. Then when they are old enough to fight for their lives against the adult and cannibalistic monsters of their own kind, he lets the sports clubs keep half of them for private pleasure-streams; and he goes and drops the other half into general promiscuous public streams for the ordinary farm-boy and for the ordinary vacation-time refugee from cities. He does not merely make the Government work for sportsmen. He makes sportsmen work for other sportsmen, and for the Government, and for and with him. (He likes to fish.)

Does he find in his department a Bureau of Standards? It now is blessed with some eighty advisory committees of technical representatives of private industrial groups. It now rejoices also in having some sixty-two "research associates" working in its laboratories on behalf of some thirty-eight private trade associations. All the results thus secured, all the discoveries thus made, become the common property of all industries and of the whole nation. Public enterprise gets impregnated with private initiative. Private initiative gets lifted to the general public good. And Mr. Hoover gets more contacts with private ordinary Americanism.

Hardly a step has Mr. Hoover taken as Secretary of Commerce except through this method of contacts and coöperations with American private life.

Does he get fascinated by the glamorous idea of saving large sums of money annually for American business by standardizing the sizes and the verbal forms of warehouse receipts? Presently there is a committee of warehousemen and bankers and shippers and carriers struggling with the idea in the light of their practical knowledge of its difficulties and of its benefits.

Mr. Hoover does not ordain. He effects. His motto sometimes seems to be: "No day without its idea, and no idea without its committee."

The committee for the standardizing and simplifying of construction-contract forms. The committee for the standardizing and simplifying of the specifications



used in the purchasing of commodities. The committee for revising our municipal building codes and for thereby saving perhaps as much as 20 per cent. of building-costs. The committee for this thing, for that thing, for the other thing, with public encouragement, with private profuse energy, culminating for beauty perhaps in the American Marine Standards Committee.

It represents—that Committee—some three hundred trade bodies in the marine industry. It has some forty-five sub-committees dealing with the details of ship-hulls, ship-engines and ship-supplies. It is all headed up into an executive board which is elected from private sources. Yet it is all supervised by a secretary who acts as an integrated part of the Division of Simplified Practice of the public Department of Commerce.

Mr. Hoover has evolved the public-private Department. He has evoked the private-public citizen. This is his genuinely unique contribution to our governmental scheme. And it is not merely a method. It flows from a convinced philosophy.

#### *Great Faith in American Public*

Mr. Hoover has never said anything that states more clearly the tap-root and the top-twig of his whole public thinking than this:

"I am one of those who believe in the sub-stratum of inherent honesty, and in the fine vein of service and kindliness, in our citizenship."

So believing, he does not find our national destiny centered supremely in government. He has emphatically said:

"National character is the sum of the moral fiber of individuals."

It is to the development of that fiber, in private free action, that he is always looking.

"Legislative action," he has concisely and comprehensively said, "is always clumsy."

He is never so happy as when he has been able to persuade a private group to solve an old problem without the help of a new law.

Herein lies the true political romance of the staggering statistics of Mr. Hoover's Division of Simplified Practice. I am delighted, of course, to realize that it has reduced the number of different types of grinding-wheels in this country from 715,200 to 255,800. I am still more delighted, however, to note that its excruciating

endeavors are constantly preventing the introduction into Congress of new bills which I should be obliged to study and to report.

#### *Era of Self-Governing Industry*

We used to have bills in Congress all the time establishing standards in lumber for the protection of consumers. Then came Mr. Hoover, and a Central Committee on Lumber, and a Consulting Committee on Lumber, and a continuing series of lumber conferences among representatives of the producers and of the distributors and of the consumers, and a great struggle to fix the standard ethical commercial thickness of a "one-inch board," and similar struggles over other similar issues, and finally the publication of a sort of lumber-Bible containing the collective ethics and the agreed commandments of the lumber trade, together with pledges by the overwhelming mass of the trade to live in obedience to those commandments; and in the last Congress we had no bill whatsoever for regulating the measurement morals of lumbermen.

Mr. Roosevelt gave us a pure-food law. It was needed. Mr. Hoover is on his way to giving us pure lumber without a law. He opens up a possible new next era in American social development.

He has called it the "era of self-governing industry." He has made himself its practicing prophet.

Under President Harding, Mr. Hoover happened to hear that some of our steel managers were ready individually to get rid of the twelve-hour day in their works. Mr. Hoover suggested to President Harding the calling of a conference of the trade. It was called and held. Under that incitement, but under no legislative coercion whatsoever, the trade proceeded in harmony with its own technical knowledge and in its own competent manner to take the measures which have relegated the twelve-hour day into being, for the most part, only a bitter memory.

The one piece of statistical information supremely worth remembering about Mr. Hoover's prize pet division, his Division of Simplified Practice, is that the activities of its staff of some twenty persons are really only the coöperative governmental funnel for the activities of more than five hundred groups of private American business men.

They accomplish two great purposes.

Through the wisdom which they volunteer they help to keep the Secretary of Commerce on the ground; and through the reforms which they voluntarily institute in their businesses they help to make it unnecessary for Congress to go up in the air.

### *Hoover the Humanist*

Is this the method, is this the philosophy, of simply an engineer, of simply an administrator? Obviously not. Hoover the machinist is admittedly dazzling. But the Hoover worth real political thought is Hoover the humanist.

As only an engineer, as only an administrator, Mr. Hoover might have rescued the Mississippi flood-sufferers with the Army. He in fact rescued them with an infinitely complicated network of local committees of leading local citizens.

If those committeemen now acclaim him for President, let it be remembered that they are only a tiny fraction of the total number of committeemen who have come into being under the hands of Mr. Hoover since he became Secretary of Commerce.

Let it further be remembered that precisely as he rescues flood-sufferers not in accordance with the theory that they are wreckage but in accordance with the theory that they are people, so, in dealing with Congress, he remembers acutely now that Congressmen are individuals. In his own seemingly remote way he studies them most intimately. He has had controversies with some of them but—unlike so many other estimable Cabinet members in our history—he has never had a rupture with Congress as a body.

On the contrary, as I have related, his legislation has found an almost complete Congressional acceptance. And why? Why, because of his political coöperativeness.

For instance: A mere engineer, a mere administrator, desiring to revise our patent laws, would send to Congress a whole new patent code which, by a combination of injured interests, would be defeated. Mr. Hoover finds out which phases of the revision have the fewest individual enemies, and then he sends the revision to Congress,

phase by phase, and the feasible phases get passed.

It is just simply idle to say that such a character is not a politician. Mr. Hoover, in a totally good sense, but in a totally true sense, is profoundly a politician. He has a method of operating through other people. He has a philosophy of the eternal worth of other people's personalities in public life. That's—in the utterest way—high politics.

### *A Presidential Forecast*

A forecast of Mr. Hoover as President would then perhaps run reasonably as follows:

He would begin with his well-known principle that "the primary duty of organized society is to lift the standard of living and to enlarge the lives of all the people."

He would go on to make a drastic discrimination between organized society that is private and voluntary, and organized society that is public and coercive.

He is by inheritance a Quaker. He believes much less in the public pillory than in the inward individual light.

He would most especially call upon that inward individual light to illumine our public affairs.

He would call upon it for duties of public value, in order—most especially—to promote private virtue.

For him the State is only a means by which private citizens can be more statesmanlike.

He would give the world the spectacle of a most enthralling contrast and contest.

If Signor Mussolini is the prophet of the citizen succumbing to the State, Mr. Hoover is the prophet of the citizen succoring the State. To the European Continental idea of the State giving orders, Mr. Hoover would oppose the American idea of the citizen giving services.

The former idea is a compulsive administrative idea. The latter idea is a free political idea.

Mr. Hoover would be—on the widening road of our own native political inheritance—a truly political President.



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# Farm Relief and Flood Control

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BY RICHARD T. ELY

(Research Professor of Economics in Northwestern University; Director,  
Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities)

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MORE than 125 years ago Malthus published the first edition of his celebrated work on population, a work that perhaps has exercised as much influence on human thought and action as any book that has appeared in the last thousand years.

Incidentally, it is interesting to recall that Malthus cited our own Benjamin Franklin in regard to the fecundity of Nature, including human beings, and that Darwin gave much credit to Malthus for the impelling idea that led to his own life work.

But what the present writer has in mind is not the theory of evolution and the relation of Malthus to that, but his doctrine of the pressure of population upon the supply of food. Whatever else Malthus taught, he did teach that with the exception of short periods in new countries the pressure of population upon food supply is constant and operates for all time. Checks of various sorts, preventive and positive, as he called them, may mitigate the struggle for sustenance but the pressure always remains.

This idea of the constant pressure of population upon food supply was taken over by the classical English school of economics and has been fundamental in theory and has likewise had a profound influence upon policies. John Stuart Mill took, on the whole, a more optimistic view of the relation of population to food supply than Malthus but he still held unqualifiedly to the belief in a constant pressure. This pressure he likened to a rubber band. It did not break but the tension increased with the growth of population as time went on.

The natural result of the theory as held by Malthus and John Stuart Mill was the belief that land values would tend constantly to increase. John Stuart Mill proposed that society should share in this increment in land values, frequently termed "unearned increment." His program was substantially this: All lands should be appraised and the present value determined.

Then the land owner should be allowed a certain small share of the increment in value in order to stimulate him to collect the annual rental value, but beyond this the future increments should flow into the public treasury. The land owner was to have the option of accepting or selling out his land at the appraised value.

## *Man's Struggle with Nature*

Now a curious thing is that on the whole from the time of Malthus to the present, it has become constantly easier and easier to wrest from Mother Nature our food supply and our raw materials. There have been some ups and downs and for a time a certain pressure was felt, especially during and following wars, but the movement toward a lessened cost of our food has been most marked. There never was a time when it took so small a proportion of the population and such a small percentage of our resources to get the food and raw materials that we need. Man has constantly progressed in his struggle with Nature. One English author, Sir Daniel Hall, estimates that in the future only 15 per cent. of the population will be needed to produce food and raw materials.

As a natural consequence we have relatively low food prices and declining farm land values: likewise naturally world-wide distress of farmers.

Another part of the theory of Malthus was that there could be no surplus of food because in the case of agriculture the supply always created "the demanders," to use his term. If we use the figure that John Stuart Mill employed, the pressure of the rubber band may sometimes lessen but it is always there. On the contrary, we have the facts of the case. As a matter of fact we have two forces operating. One force is the growth of population and the other is progress in utilization of land. The latter force has far more than offset the first.

Improvements in agricultural production are perhaps as rapid now as ever, but at the same time the rate of population growth is declining, and that very rapidly.

The world used to dread famine. In the Litany in the Book of Common Prayer we ask to be delivered from "plague, pestilence, and famine." A prayer like that has little meaning in our time in the United States, and wherever European civilization has taken a firm foothold it may be said that famine has been conquered. This, however, is a very recent achievement.

### *The Problem of the Surplus*

In the time of the French statesman, Turgot, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the problem of the surplus was discussed. It was proposed that the government should buy up the surplus in fruitful years and carry it over to the lean years, following the example that Joseph set in Egypt many centuries ago. The proposal to deal thus with the surplus was designed to avert scarcity of food.

It is now proposed in this country that the surplus should be bought up and some control by a public agency be established, not to avert distress, but to give the farmer a better price and a larger share in the national income. What a marvelous contrast! We may view the situation from a different angle if we recall certain theories of Adam Smith expressed in his "Wealth of Nations" in 1776. It was his belief that when any particular human activity was especially encouraged by aids or subsidies of whatever sort, those engaged in furnishing services and commodities in the field of activity particularly encouraged would receive a low rate of remuneration.

Is not the conclusion clear and inevitable? Have we not encouraged men to engage in agriculture as we have not encouraged them to undertake any other occupation? Aids and subsidies of all sorts have operated to increase the number of farmers, and public sentiment has stimulated agriculture unqualifiedly. We have operated under the influence of the Malthusian theory of demanders. We appropriate public money to open up new lands when the farmers are already suffering on account of low prices. The farmers alone of all economic classes have stood for the increasing of competition of farmer with farmer.

We necessarily have a surplus, if we mean by surplus so large a production that the

farmer receives relatively small returns for his toil and his expenditures of all sorts. A surplus becomes more and more significant as time goes on because agriculture has been commercialized. The farmer must have cash in order to pay taxes—a constantly increasing burden, and indeed in many places we may say without exaggeration a staggering and crushing burden—and he must have money to make his purchases. There was a time in New England when a farmer could be rich with \$100 a year cash, because agriculture was not commercialized as at present.

We have also another agricultural surplus, and that is a surplus of farm boys and girls. The farm families are so large that farming can not absorb them. Even if agriculture were static instead of progressive there would still be a surplus of farm boys and girls. These are naturally attracted to cities, especially when the opportunities there are so rapidly increasing. The love of rural life which is deep-seated in a large proportion of the population keeps a good deal of talent in the country, but with declining agricultural wealth this lure of the farm has considerably weakened at the same time that the social prestige of agricultural land ownership, while it still fortunately exists, has greatly declined. The founders of the Republic were largely farmers and men of the highest social distinction.

### *Balanced Production as a Goal*

The real problem, then, is that of balanced production in the whole field of human endeavor. If we had a perfect balance in all lines of human activity, there would be no overproduction, not even relative overproduction, but we would have the highest attainable degree of prosperity with existing population and existing natural resources. This 100 per cent. balance can never be attained, but it is a goal of perfection to which we should constantly strive.

We have in cultivation a vast area which is poor land—what is called, in economics, submarginal land. With anything like present prices and prices that may be reasonably anticipated no ordinary man can make a profit by farming these lands. Sometimes these poor farming lands may be useful for some other purpose, for example, for raising trees and for recreational uses. This brings us, then, to a lack of balance in the utilization of land. We are producing crops of certain staples that are too large,



and very often we have a great surplus in the production of vegetables and fruit. This surplus we have reason to anticipate is going to increase. At the same time we are consuming trees far more rapidly than we are producing them. There should be an enormous increase in the area of land devoted to the production of trees where trees will grow well—for example, in all our Eastern States, many of our Southern States and especially in the North Central States.

A good deal of land is only grazing land, and for that we need a policy which will preserve the nutritious grasses, possibly a policy of government ownership with private utilization. But the right policy is not perfectly clear and it involves complicated considerations.

There may be large areas of land which are simply waste, or for the time being are waste, to be held as reserve until greater population may increase the demand for the products of such land. The State of Michigan has set an example in an economic survey of the land. Only a beginning has been made but that is a very promising one. The purpose of the survey is to show what each kind of land is best adapted for. The Michigan Survey also takes account of various factors such as the taxation of land, which has become so high as to compel abandonment of a good deal of land.

#### *Lessons of the Flood*

Let us take the case of the Mississippi flood to illustrate the absence of satisfactory policies for the utilization of the land of the country. We have cut down the trees on the mountain-sides, with the result that the waters rush down the slopes, carrying with them often the fertility of the soil. We have as a consequence flood water and streams that are nearly dry at times. About this there can be no doubt, whatever the influence may or may not have been upon the Mississippi flood of the present year. It is something we can see with our own eyes. We have also drained the swamps which held the waters in check and which were in many cases useful refuges of wild life. Ever more and more land for farms, whether the farmer was prosperous or not! One illustration is the drainage of the Horicon Marsh in Wisconsin, in order to increase the area of farm land. Now an act has been passed by the Legislature to restore the marsh, because the land is worth more as a marsh than for farming purposes.

Nature gave a certain balance in the Mississippi Valley and the waters tributary thereto, covering a large part of the United States. There may have been floods in ancient times, but they must have been less disastrous, for Nature provided all sorts of contrivances to let the water slowly flow into the Mississippi and down that river to the Gulf of Mexico. Nature also provided in swamps various outlets and escapes for flood waters. We have constructed levees, but the silt flows into the rivers and raises the bed. Levees are useful but alone are altogether inadequate. Engineers can construct levees, but the Mississippi flood control problem can never be solved by levees alone. The engineers must be trained in economics, and that they rarely are. What is needed is control by agencies in which economists as well as engineers should be represented. It is a question of land planning to secure the wisest and best use of the land.

#### *The Importance of Planning*

When we have a great fire in a city the opportunity is often used to bring about better planning, that is, to secure a better utilization of the urban area. When we have a great flood bringing disaster to hundreds of thousands and destroying improvements over a vast area, such as that covered by the Mississippi flood this year, we should avail ourselves of the opportunity in the interest of the country as a whole, in the interest of the farmers, as well as the city population. If there is land that is submarginal for farming purposes, it should not be used for farming purposes. Reservoirs should be constructed and swamps should in many cases be retained.

If we are going to help the farmer we must engage in planning, with reference to the utilization of land and with reference to the flow of population from the city to the country. We must encourage self-help, but that alone is absolutely inadequate. The hundreds of thousands of sufferers in the Mississippi Valley were powerless to avert the calamity that overtook them. The movements of population need wise direction. Individuals need enlightenment and the help of educational agencies of different kinds. Man must gain still greater control over Nature, and especially over his own associated activities. We need planning and still more planning. As Prof. J. Russell Smith of Columbia University said recently—"Plan or Perish."



BAR-LE-DUC APPEARS IN HOLLYWOOD

This scene, which looks as though it might have been taken from the wartime issues of this magazine, is a "set" reproducing accurately—down to the very cobblestones in the street—a section of Bar-le-Duc, France. It was built entirely on a moving-picture stage in California, for "What Price Glory."

## "Movies" in the Making

BY EDGAR LLOYD HAMPTON

WE LIKE motion-pictures because they show us beautiful things in addition to amusing us. Landscapes, cities, and buildings which fascinate by their loveliness, their magnificence, or their dramatic charm, shine brilliantly from the screen. "We liked the scenery," we tell our friends in discussing a picture.

Yet while praising these marvels, we suspect that many are false; and that suspicion is, for the most part, justified.

The queer corners of the world, the beautiful palaces and forests and villages that flit smoothly by on the screen are most of them fakes or imitations. To take them the camera man rarely has to travel more than fifty miles from Hollywood. Many of the lakes, the mediæval villages, and battered trenches we see are even manufactured on a studio stage. In "Chang" the members of the cast—wild beasts and primitive men—tread the stage (the jungle of northern Siam) all their lives, living the drama we see represented on the screen. But pictures like that are conspicuous by their rarity.

This does not mean that moving-picture companies indulge in make-believe merely to fool the public. It means that problems entirely unknown to the layman face them, and that they have had to take the only means possible to overcome them.

Consider, for example, the two recent Biblical pictures, "The Ten Commandments" and "The King of Kings." Obviously the native cast has been dead and buried for two or three millenniums. They had to be replaced by actors, but to carry the needed huge armies of actors, and their equipment, thousands of miles to the other side of the world to photograph them there would have cost so fantastically much that even the enormous profits of a good picture would fade into insignificance. Moreover, even had this migration of actors been possible, there would have been few original Bible landscapes to photograph. The villages that lined the shores of Galilee are gone, the Garden of Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives have vanished.

So it happened that scenes on the Mount



"EVERY SPOT ON EARTH HAS ITS DUPLICATE"

This saying of the moving-picture studios is demonstrated by the above scene from "The Trail of '98." It represents the famous rush of gold seekers over the Chilkoot Pass in Alaska. Poor atmospheric conditions and the impossibility of transporting hundreds of actors and their equipment to Alaska forced the director to this exact duplicate in Colorado, where in blinding snowstorms at an altitude of 11,000 feet many scenes were taken.



'TWAS WASSAIL ALL IN THE GREAT HALL—IN CALIFORNIA

Where settings for moving-pictures are needed, painted canvas is not enough. Scenes like this representation of a Medieval English castle hall, made for "Robin Hood," have to be built nearly as substantially as their originals. Museums, archives, and the skill of experts are all drawn on to make them historically accurate.



#### THE MAGIC CARPET STARS IN THE "MOVIES"

In "The Thief of Bagdad" the Magic Carpet known to all readers of Arabian Nights seems to sail through the sky. In reality the carpet, hung on invisible wires, remains stationary, while the city and the clouds float past the camera at the behest of the director. The illusion is perfect.

were taken in the private California olive grove of Cecil de Mille, while the harbor in the sea of Galilee was replaced by another on Catalina Island. Father D. A. Lord, a student of Judean history and many times a visitor there, when shown photographs of a scene on Galilee and the copy on Catalina, was unable to say which was which.

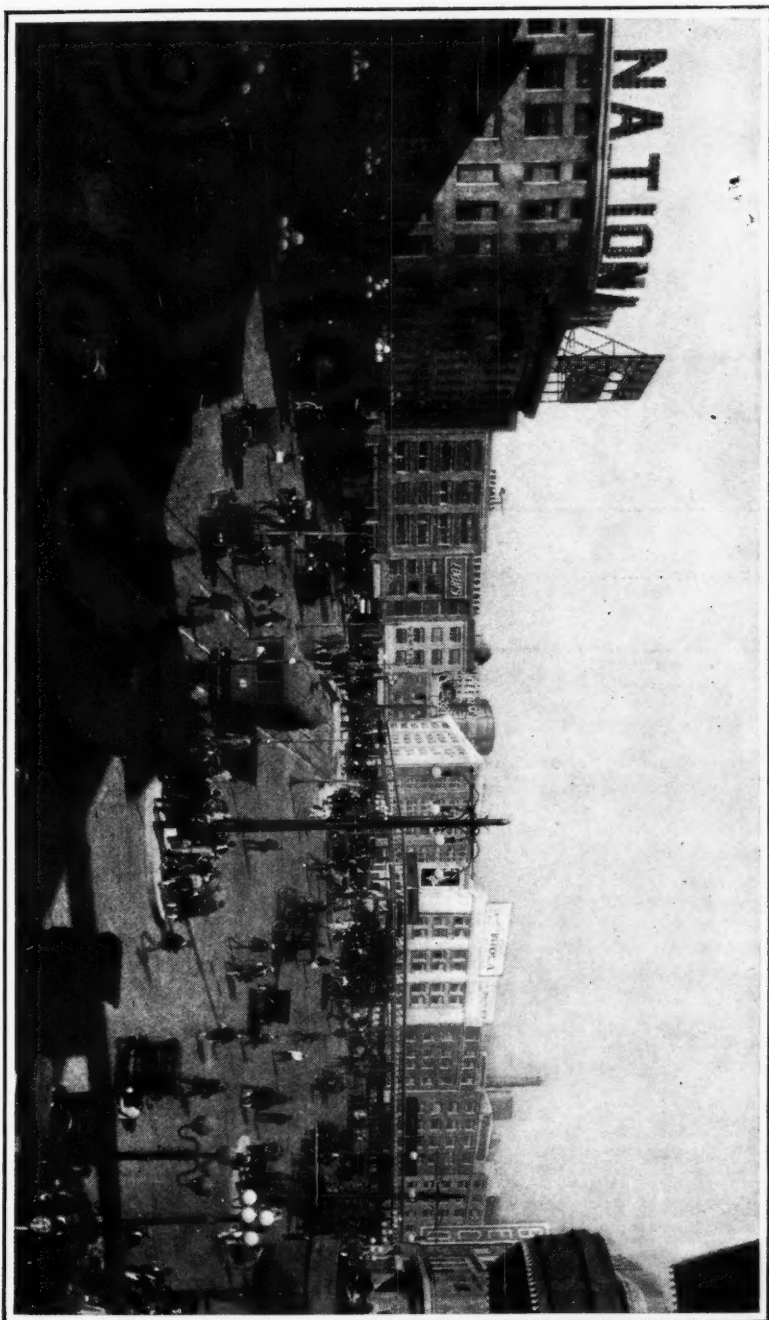
It is amazing how closely historical and scenic accuracy is maintained. The picture called "Seventh Heaven" called for a set showing a section of Paris. A French ambassador, happening to visit the studio when this picture was being taken, stared at the scene in wonder, and pronounced it a perfect reproduction of the original. Hardly a corner of the earth exists which cannot be reproduced on the moving-picture lot. In "Beau Geste" all but the Sahara

scenes (which were photographed in the Mojave desert, thirty miles from Los Angeles), were "sets" built on a studio stage. These stages, however, resemble a polo field in size and appearance.

Houses, gardens, ponds, and even villages and bits of the great outdoors can be made to order on the studio lot, but oceans and deserts are beyond even its vast capacity. Therefore directors are forced afield—but again the difficulty and cost of transporting many actors and assistants with their paraphernalia has led to the practice of taking pictures on location.

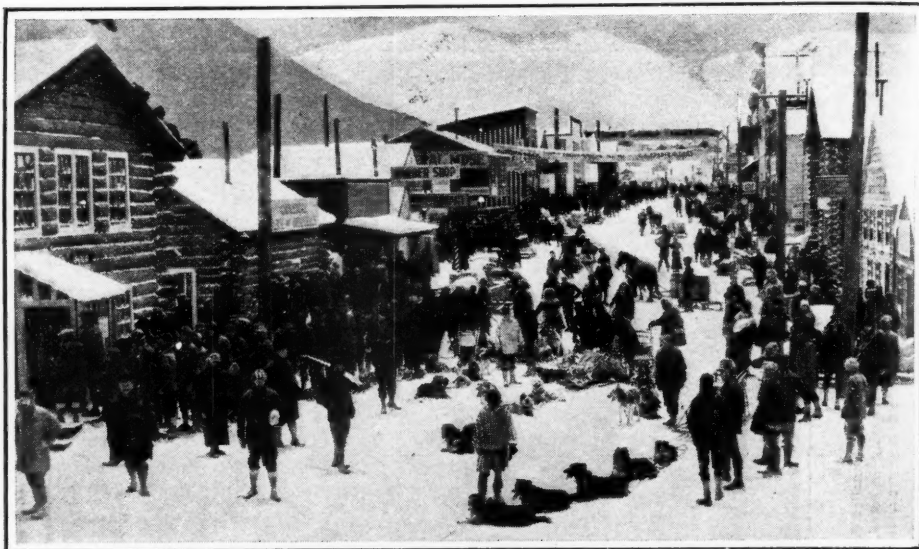
In studios they have a saying that "every spot on earth has its duplicate." Many years of production have established the fact—and each day proves it anew—that practically every outdoor scene





A CITY THAT NEVER EXISTED

This section of a mythical city of no particular nationality demonstrates the ample capacity of the moving-picture stage to reproduce nearly anything. Streets were paved, trolley tracks laid, buildings—facades only—erected, and even an elevated railroad (right background) constructed to provide the illusion of reality. This set, about as elaborate as any yet constructed, was said to have cost \$250,000. It was made for the picture "Sunrise."



DAWSON CITY, ALASKA, MOVES TO COLORADO

Frequently scenes called for by the scenario are too vast to be reproduced on Hollywood studio stages; the nearest location which reproduces the original is then sought. Here an Alaskan town of '98 was rebuilt, building for building, on the Continental Divide near Corona, Colorado.



THE STREET OF MIRACLES

A bit of ancient Judea manufactured for moving-picture purposes, in "The King of Kings." It is the contention of Hollywood enthusiasts that the great majority of buildings, villages, and even landscapes anywhere in the world can be reproduced in or near Los Angeles. This fact, together with the prevalence of the sunshine so necessary to good photography, has made Los Angeles the producer of three-quarters of the world's moving-pictures.

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**TWO OUTDOOR BIBLICAL SCENES PHOTOGRAPHED INDOORS**

At the left are Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden; at the right is Christ with some of the Disciples in the Garden of Gethsemane. Necessarily reconstructed from imagination, they nevertheless represent the modern director's attempt to make the audience believe itself transposed to the original scene of action.

required in any sort of picture may be duplicated in the variegated scenery in or near Los Angeles. Ocean, desert, farm country, and mountains are all within comparatively few miles. Therefore the studios employ a large number of location men, who continually scour Southern California in search of scenes of every sort. These are carefully photographed and described for the files, against the day of need.

Of course it is sometimes necessary to go further afield. In gathering material for these paragraphs I talked with Clarence Brown, who had just finished "The Trail of '98." This picture deals with the Alaskan gold rush, and its scenes occur largely along the Skagway and Dyea trails, the Chilkoot Pass and at various gold towns in the interior. But these towns are no more; Dyea, once a town of 20,000, has now a

single inhabitant. Too, the script calls for several thousand persons representing gold seekers toiling over Chilkoot Pass. But there are no such thousands there, or near there; and were they imported they would find neither food nor housing. On top of that, atmospheric conditions are almost impossible for good photography.

Therefore a location had to be found. To duplicate the Chilkoot the director was forced to take his company to the continental divide in Colorado, where, at an elevation of 11,000 feet, in blinding snowstorms and with a temperature that at times dropped to thirty-five below zero, the Alaskan towns were rebuilt and many of the larger scenes were "shot." But this was not undertaken until director and cameramen had visited Alaska to get such views as were possible, and had made an



"SOMEWHERE IN FRANCE," AS REPRODUCED IN CALIFORNIA FOR A CURRENT FILM

exhaustive study of available data on the original gold rush.

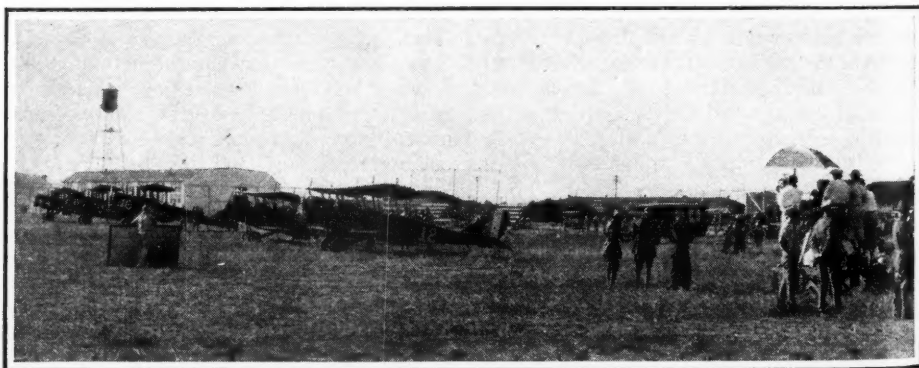
When "The Rough Riders" was being produced, the company went to Cuba to take pictures on the spot where the Rough Riders fought. But several expensive months of waiting for rain to stop, and clouds to blow away, sent them home to California's sunshine for their pictures.

In like manner "Ben Hur" was attempted in Rome. Weather was bad, there was difficulty in getting sets built, public officials did not coöperate with much enthusiasm, and the difference in language made directing mob scenes next to impossible. After ten months of effort, at a cost of more than a million dollars, the company came home. And all but 2,000

feet of the finished picture was taken within five miles of Los Angeles.

So painstaking are producers to have picture stories faithful reproductions, that many a musty archive, many a dim library, many an expert is called on to provide the needed realism. When the story of America's first transcontinental railroad was reenacted for the camera, in filming "The Iron Horse," a score of experts, including Union Pacific engineers, were on the scene. Even a special type of rail, no longer in manufacture, was made—this because men still live who helped build the U. P.

Yes, moving-pictures are largely make-believe, but it has come to be the slogan of the studios that "We make motion-pictures for the one man who knows."



NOT A REAL AVIATION FIELD, BUT A DUPLICATE CREATED FOR THE CAMERA  
In making "Wings," a war picture, 127 airplanes were used, seven of which were deliberately wrecked.



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# Presidential Fireworks in Mexico

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BY GEORGE WHEELER HINMAN, JR.

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THE votes in Mexico's presidential election are being cast as this is written. They are not ballots, but bullets. The ballots will not be cast until Election Day next July. They will not be worth counting. The bullets that are being cast to-day are what will count in determining who will succeed Plutarco Elias Calles as President of the Mexican Republic.

To understand Mexican politics, we must first throw away the rule by which we measure American politics. We must discard the definitions which we are accustomed to give to the most ordinary words in our political vocabularies. We think of a political campaign as primarily an appeal to the electorate, to the people who have the right to go to the polls on Election Day and, in secret, express their will. In Mexico a political campaign consists primarily of negotiations with groups of armed men, some of them wearing the uniform of the Mexican Army and some of them in civilian clothes. The outcome of the election depends upon the results of these negotiations. Election Day serves merely to ratify these results.

That explains Mexico's presidential pyrotechnics so many long months in advance of the date actually set for the nominal election of a Chief Executive. The negotiations among the groups of armed men simply exploded. There came the inevitable appeal to bullets; and Mexico's presidential campaign entered its decisive stage. The decision will receive a nominal ratification by presumptive ballots at some



PRESIDENT CALLES

The four-year term of Plutarco Elias Calles as President of Mexico will come to an end in November, 1928. His successor is to be elected next July, though events of last month have already determined the result.

later day. That will be a mere matter of form. Nobody in Mexico takes ballots seriously. But as for bullets—they carry weight.

Quite naturally, in campaigns of this sort, individuals and not issues are in the foreground. In Mexico of to-day, there are no real issues in general controversy. Mexico has no opposition party. Opposition to the established régime is unhealthy. The most ruinous charge that can be brought against a man is to accuse him of being an enemy of the Revolution. It is the equivalent of a charge of treason. The program of the Revolution is paramount in the mouth of every leader to dare to express opinions. The

only question at real issue in any controversy is the identity of the individual who shall occupy a given post of authority in the Revolutionary Government.

Mexico's outstanding problem, therefore, boils down to the question of the presidential succession. The reason for the presidential pyrotechnics to-day is identical with the reason for the shooting four years ago—the leaders of the Mexican Revolution can not agree among themselves upon which of their number shall next be elevated to the highest office in the land.

Four years ago, the candidates were Plutarco Elias Calles and Adolfo de la Huerta, both generals and both members of the cabinet of President Alvaro Obregon, also a general. Together, the three were recognized as the dominant triumvirate of the so-called Sonora-Sinaloa crowd that

came into power in 1920 with the murder of Venustiano Carranza, then a fugitive President flying for the frontier and his life. But the three could not agree on the identity of the next President. So they fought; de la Huerta was defeated: and Calles was installed in office.

When the present campaign got under way months ago, the three candidates who entered the lists all belonged to the same Sonora-Sinaloa crowd, so christened after the two States in Northwestern Mexico from which came most of the leaders of the group. All three were generals in the Revolutionary Army. Alvaro Obregon had been the leader of the force which drove Carranza from office. Francisco Serrano and Arnulfo Gomez had been chieftains in the Obregon army, and so, for that matter, had been President Calles himself. As main strength was to be the decisive element in the campaign, it was but natural that all three candidates should belong to the Army. No civilian candidate, it was generally conceded, would have had the proverbial "Chinaman's chance." On the list of ranking generals in the service, the name of Obregon stood first. He had, of course been the first regular President of the Republic after the fall of Carranza. Calles' name stood second on the list. He was serving as second President. In places near the top stood the names of Gomez and Serrano. They were entitled to presidential aspirations.

But Obregon, so it was charged, was violating the spirit of the Revolution. That spirit was found in the provision of the Constitution of 1917 that no President should be reelected to office. Obregon, not satisfied with having the first term after the victory of his troops, now wanted another turn at the office. His followers even had altered the Constitution so as to permit the subsequent reelection of a Chief Executive after the expiration of an intervening term. His enemies asserted that Obregon's behavior not only revealed greed for wealth and power, but also pointed in the direction of a permanent dictatorship.

"No reelection," had been the original slogan of the revolutionists who, in 1910 under the leadership of Francisco Madero, had broken the long reign of Porfirio Diaz and driven him from the country. The words, "No Reeleccion," appeared on every official document—even on the Government's promulgation of the constitutional amendment permitting reelection!

To permit the reelection of a President in Mexico was regarded by the Madero revolutionists as equivalent to authorizing another dictatorship of the Diaz type. Don Porfirio himself had become President under a constitution prohibiting reelection; but he had had the constitution altered so as to permit his reelection after an intervening term. He then returned to the Presidency, and never surrendered it until driven out by armed enemies. Obregon, it was alleged, was seeking to follow in the footsteps of Diaz. As the President of Mexico is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and as bullets, not ballots, count in Mexican elections, it is an almost impossible task to block the reelection of a presidential incumbent who really wishes to remain in office. So, in simple English, the real meaning of the phrase, "No Reeleccion," is, "No permanent dictatorship."

Gomez, a recognized fire-eater, worked his way to the fore as the leader of the anti-Obregon or—as they chose to call themselves—the Anti-Reelectionist elements. He was serving as Chief of Military Operations, or overlord, of the important Vera Cruz zone. He had devoted considerable study to military questions—more than can be said of many of the politico-military figures in Mexican history—and was regarded as something of a soldier. He was outspoken in his views, almost to a fault. His biography in the armed ranks of the Revolution had been one of achievement. His vigorous, fiery personality, his up-turned, pointed mustachios, and his more than a touch of vanity made him a picturesque figure.

Serrano was a different sort. A small, large-headed man of the Napoleonic type, he gave an impression of solid strength and capacity. He had been a doer, not a talker, he had made an enviable record as an administrator and executive. He spoke little, but what he said was nearly always to the point; and the two-fisted, pistol-bearing leaders of the Revolution were accustomed to listen to his words. On performance alone, he was recognized as the most able of all the candidates.

Serrano was in a peculiar position. He had served as Obregon's most intimate and trusted advisor. He was regarded by many as the man who had made Obregon the first President after the success of the Sonora-Sinaloa faction. He had been called back from abroad and had been given the vitally important post of Governor of the Federal

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Francisco Serrano



Alvaro Obregon



Arnulfo Gomez

### THE THREE MEN WHO ASPIRED TO SUCCEED PRESIDENT CALLES IN MEXICO

Serrano and Gomez were charged with fomenting revolution. Serrano was captured and immediately executed, on October 4. Gomez sought safety in flight. The only remaining candidate, General Obregon, will presumably be elected President by the voters next July. He is opposed by the anti-reëlectionists, who feel that the spirit of the Mexican Constitution declares against him; for he was Calles's predecessor in office, serving from 1920 to 1924.

District, which includes the capital. He obviously had been a man upon whom both Obregon and Calles had called when they wanted a hard job well done. Many had regarded him as the Calles-Obregon heir-apparent to the Presidency, and there was some feeling that he had been double-crossed when Obregon insisted upon again having the office.

Why did both Gomez and Serrano remain in the contest as Anti-Reëlectionist candidates? Both avowed their opposition to Obregon on the ground that he was violating the spirit of the Revolution by seeking to set up a permanent dictatorship of the Diaz type. Each coöperated with the other. Why did not one withdraw?

The answer lies in the fact that individuals, not the so-called issue of reëlection or no reëlection, were of primary importance in the campaign. Gomez had a certain following in the Army. Serrano had a certain following in the Army, probably a bit larger than that of Gomez, for Serrano was personally popular with a number of the more powerful military figures. Neither Gomez nor Serrano, even had he so desired, could deliver his followers to the other, and it is most doubtful that either did so desire. Together, their followings constituted an element to be considered in the campaign; but the following of neither was sufficiently strong to challenge the combined power

of Calles and Obregon. So both Serrano and Gomez remained in the fight.

From the beginning, more than a year in advance of Election Day, the campaign was marked by the greatest bitterness. True to his reputation for plain speaking, Gomez said what he thought, and words made unpleasant hearing and reading for the Obregon adherents. He challenged Obregon's record on the former President's favorite topic—the break-up and distribution of the large estate in Mexico. He pointed out that, while dividing up the estates of landholders of the old régime and others not in the good graces of the Revolutionary Government, Obregon himself had risen from nothing to the biggest landed proprietor in the country, if not on the Continent. He spoke openly of the inevitable appeal to arms. Whenever one of his followers was shot down, Gomez shouted the fact to all Mexico, and also accused his political enemies of seeking on certain specific occasions to assassinate him.

Serrano was the quietest of the three. What he had to say, he said more or less formally in prepared pronouncements. His original announcement of his candidacy was regarded as the best-thought-out document of the campaign. At the same time, although Gomez made the noise, there was no disguising the fact that the Obregon group feared Serrano the more. Gomez was

described by Obregon as "a man of words, not of action." But Serrano was a recognized man of deeds. His previous close intimacy with Obregon meant that he knew where the former President was strong and where he was weak. Serrano and his friends worked in the background.

And it was in the background that the really serious work of the campaign was being done. There were the public statements for popular consumption at home and abroad; but no one actively engaged in the campaign attached to these utterances any deep significance. Behind the scenes of the campaign, wherever men discussed realities, the conversation ran to the names of Generals, of Colonels, and of Majors, and to the numbers and whereabouts of regiments of cavalry, battalions of infantry, and batteries of artillery. These workers behind the scenes did not fool themselves with the delusion that the ballots on Election Day were of any account. They knew that it was a question of the mobilization of bullets. Nobody cared what the people in the State of Chihuahua thought; but there was the keenest interest in the views and prospective actions of General Caraveo, Chief of Military Operations in the Chihuahua zone. The Mexican Revolutionary Army was the real battleground of the campaign; and the important moves were those involving troop transfers and the assignments of officers.

The strategy of the Obregonistas was to force their opponents into the open prematurely. The strategy of the Anti-Reelectionists was to delay matters until they could mobilize their strength. Obregon himself is the master politician in Mexico's politico-military life. Gomez, the fire-eater, and Serrano, the doer, had their hands full. There is real shrewdness in the close-set eyes of the former President; and, even when he laughs uproariously as anecdotes are recounted—for he is a good mixer—others present have the sensation that he is never losing the thread of his calculations.

It was Obregon who won recognition of his Revolutionary Government from the United States after the murder of Carranza. It was Obregon who tightened the net about de la Huerta until that aspirant for the Presidency took the field in an appeal to arms. It was Obregon who got the Government at Washington to furnish the arms and munitions which enabled him to crush

the de la Huerta movement and to exact a bloody penalty from those who had dared to challenge his supreme authority. And it was Obregon who put Calles into the Presidency for the succeeding four-year term and who was determined to return himself to office in 1928.

So, behind the scenes, the game was played, with men's lives as the pawns and with the control of Mexico and its vast resources as the stake. With the approach of the end of the rainy season in September, the tension increased. It is the revolutionary tradition in Mexico that tests of armed strength between the various groups should not be initiated during the rains; but, if there is any disturbance in the air, the advent of the dry season in the fall always is viewed with expectancy. In August and September of 1927, those of us who were in Mexico felt the growing strain of the situation. It was the opinion in many well-informed quarters that the Calles-Obregon group was preparing for drastic action to curtail the activities of the Gomez-Serrano faction. There was feverish activity in both camps. The hour for the supreme test obviously was approaching.

Then, in the first days of October, came the inevitable explosion. Drum-head courts martial, firing squads, and savage *schrecklichkeit* stepped into the campaign with the traditional alacrity. The immediate seizure and summary shooting of Serrano, who, with a handful of close friends, was captured and promptly executed, was a body blow to the Anti-Reelectionists. Many a military leader who might have supported him undoubtedly thought a second time when he learned of Serrano's death, and decided to do nothing.

We need not concern ourselves with the merits of the controversy over the Mexican presidential succession. It is not for us to say which of the three original candidates—all, let it be remembered, belonging to the same Sonora-Sinaloa group—most deserved the confidence of the Mexican people and the support of the Mexican Army. We really have little interest in the identity of Mexico's next President. For us, the outstanding, tragic fact is this:

After more than a century of independence, Mexico has failed to find a means for transferring the supreme authority of the nation without recourse, not to ballots, but to bullets.



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# The Investment Trust

DIVERSITY FOR THE SMALL STOCKHOLDER

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BY CHARLES F. SPEARE

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THE modern science of investment, which finds its expression in the rapidly expanding investment trust, contracts the old negative axiom "don't put all of your eggs in one basket" to the positive term "diversify."

It is a simple and easily understood creed, that of diversification of securities for the production of the ideal investment. It has been repeated abroad for generations, principally in England, Scotland and Switzerland and practiced quietly to some extent in this country. It is of interest to note that the emphasis on diversity in one's stock and bond holdings has been strongest coincident with a period of greatest profits in a few selected shares of industrial companies since the consolidation era twenty-five years ago.

Under the standard of diversification, groups of able investment trust managers, with whom are associated picked men from the fields of economics, accounting, foreign trade, foreign banking, international relations, engineering and brokerage, are earnestly seeking to perfect the type of security that will give to the holder the greatest guaranty of safety and the highest percentage of return. Under the cloak of diversification, another group, meanwhile, is profiting by the age-old cupidity of the public and selling a kind of investment trust stock that may appear as sound as a government bond but may lose its sponsorship overnight.

There are to-day in the United States about 140 investment trusts whose total resources exceed \$700,000,000. This is a development of a comparatively few years. Probably a third of the trusts were not yet born on New Year's Day. The securities of these trusts are widely distributed and have an active market. In another year at the present pace American

investment trusts will step up into the billion-dollar class of industries. They have profited many persons. Interest in their methods and future is intensely keen among people of great and limited means. They represent a new phase in our economic life.

In England there are several hundred such trusts. Through years of sound management they have established themselves with the investment public as creators of solid securities which stand alongside the best of the corporation issues.

## *Types of Investment Trusts*

A legal authority on American investment trusts classifies them as follows: (1) Bankers' share organizations, which are unlike any British trusts, and whose plan is to purchase a group of ten or more well-known common stocks, trustee them, and issue against this collateral either trustee shares, bankers' shares or investors' certificates; (2) the corporation type, which issues debentures, and preferred and common stocks; (3) Massachusetts or common-law trusts managed by their trustees or fiscal agents and (4) the common-law trust which is administered by a company which participates either in part of the earnings or receives a fee for management.

Each has its individual merit irrespective of the factor of management. All base their justification on the principle of diversity of investments. Some go much further in this than others. It is in this that the greatest difference in policy is to be found as well as the minimum and maximum risks in investment trust securities.

To illustrate: Take the first form of trust, that which purchases a certain number of common stocks and places them with a trustee, issuing against the whole as collateral certain certificates. In the judgment of the managers, the best current form

of investment over a long period of years may be in bank stocks. They may be stocks of New York banks or those of Boston, Philadelphia or Baltimore or of this group collectively. Or the preference may be for Canadian or New Jersey bank stocks. However, the diversity may be said to be an internal rather than an external one. The ultimate consumer of this type of trust certificates has his capital invested exclusively in bank stocks. Another group of managers may prefer public utilities, perhaps those of New England. A third believes that most merit is to be found in the common stocks of great American industrial corporations as oils, or coppers, while a fourth regards the shares of the standard, long dividend-paying railroads of the United States as premier among investments. In each case the person who buys the bankers' shares has a participation in one industry just as he has when he purchases a real-estate mortgage certificate that has been issued against a block of individual real-estate mortgages. He has minimized his risk by scattering it in the most fertile portions of one productive field.

The next step in this type of trust is diversity extended to the three major groups of common stocks, namely railroads, public utilities and industrials. Where, in the first example, the composite might be formed of ten issues of one industry, in the second it would be built up from the total of 100 representative shares in three industries. There was once a man in Wall Street who bought one share of every important corporation listed on the New York Stock Exchange and made himself somewhat of a nuisance at the annual meeting of stockholders, which his single share gave him the privilege of attending. To-day, for a relatively small sum, he could boast of a participating interest in scores of companies, though he would be denied voting privileges in them.

In contrast to the structural form of the fixed share investment trusts and to the methods of selecting securities for its portfolio, is the corporation type modeled from the British pattern, which offers for public subscription debenture bonds and common and preferred stocks. Like the first, its keystone is diversification of risk, but diversity carried to the last degree, both as to industry and geographical location, instead of being arrived at, as has frequently

happened, by assembling a miscellaneous lot of stocks and bonds with a trustee who has no powers of release or of substitution, however much this might be demanded from changes in the character of collateral deposited against certificates issued.

#### *How an Investment Trust Operates*

Let us visit the headquarters of the largest of the American investment trusts and destined to be before long the most powerful of its kind in the world.

It has its officers, clerks, and stenographers just as any other business organization, but in the heart of it is a group of fifty or sixty men who are daily taking the soundings of the investment sea. They are constantly seeking out the safe channels as well as charting the shallows and rocks not visible from the surface. In their vast statistical laboratory they are reducing to recommendable form the securities of every nation on earth, or discarding them if they do not meet their strict requirements. They range over the world in search of new investments as the mining engineer or the prospector seeks out new gold or copper fields or pools of oil. Their work carries with it the zest of the pioneer even though their working instruments are the ordinary dull statistics of foreign trade, index prices of securities, bank deposits, industrial and railroad earnings, corporation balance sheets, foreign exchange and currency fluctuations, commodity prices, dividend records, national debts and the trends of populations.

They have reduced investment in securities to an exact science, and, as far as possible, eliminated the element of individual judgment in making their selections. Their reactions are both positive and negative. It is from the balance of the two that their composite investment issue receives its greatest strength and warrant for public adoption. Being permitted to substitute at will, an investment trust of this character, with a corps of trained observers, is expected to drop from its portfolio any security that does not measure up to the standard which it has adopted. The true investment trust, with careful management and a staff of experts continually weighing the elements surrounding every security in their portfolio, will not be caught with unmarketable issues when the turn finally comes.

Diversity of risk being an essential dif-

ference between the two types of investment trust, it may be worth while to give in detail the financial platform on which the most successful and the most conservative investment trust in this country bases its operations.

### *Sound Fundamental Policies*

These are the fundamental policies controlling its purchases of securities:

(a) Unless a corporation has been established at least four years prior to the proposed investment its securities are not acceptable to the trust.

(b) The corporation's funds may, up to a maximum of 70 per cent., be invested at one time in the United States, subject to the limitations as to percentages in one class of business, but never more than 55 per cent. may be invested in Great Britain, and never more than 35 per cent. in securities in any other nation.

(c) Ten per cent. of the corporation's funds is the maximum that may be invested in any one business or industry.

(d) Not more than  $1\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. of the corporation's funds may be invested in the securities of one obligor or issuer, except governmental securities, and not more than 5 per cent. thereof may be invested in the securities of any one government, except the United States or Great Britain.

(e) At least 400 different securities shall be held in the portfolio of the corporation.

Eliminating the first requirement and presuming that all of the securities under review had the required seasoned factor, the portfolio of a corporation with \$10,000,000 of funds might be made up along the following lines:

In the United States a total of \$7,000,000. In the iron and steel trade of the United States \$1,000,000. In the securities of the United States Steel Corporation \$17,500. First comes the total proportion allocated to a country, providing geographical distribution of risk, next the maximum ratio of 10 per cent. of this total to a single industry, protecting the investor against loss on his composite security if the industry as a whole should "go bad," and finally, the  $1\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. unit of purchase in the securities of a single corporation within a single industry.

Now it might be an unfavorable period in the United States for investing on a large scale. As a matter of fact the shrewdly managed and carefully regulated

American investment trusts have had a comparatively small commitment in the American stock and bond market for the past year or two. They have been sellers, while the fixed share investment trusts, with an indiscriminating management, have been disposed to ride along on the crest of the speculative wave. Looking about for a profitable field in which to operate, they find that prices are low in Germany, say, and all of the barometric symptoms are pointing to economic and industrial recovery there. So they partially withdraw from the United States and invest their funds to the maximum of 35 per cent. of the total available for investment, in German government bonds, German state and municipal bonds, the securities of mortgage companies, of banks, public utilities, iron and steel works, chemical companies, of railroads and of shipping concerns. They may not, however, purchase over \$3,500,000 of German issues nor more than \$500,000 of German government bonds. Actually, one of the large American investment trusts did go into Germany at the psychological time in 1925, and last spring before the stock-market panic came it had disposed of the greater part of its German portfolio and was seeking new investment worlds to conquer.

### *International Aspects*

It will be evident that much greater intelligence and more careful management are required to operate an international investment trust than one whose scope is purely national, and even then confined to one type of securities. This is especially true when this includes supervision of 1,000 different issues, as in the case of the largest American trust.

The American investment trust of the corporation type, created out of the long experience of British and Scottish investment trust managers, profits not only from the income derived from securities in its portfolio, but from the turnover of these securities. It has been possible in the last few years to realize about 6 per cent. on income and approximately the same from what are known as "trading profits." This is rather higher in the latter item than with the British trusts. Undoubtedly the period since the war, and especially that following the world-wide deflation in 1921, has been one of unusual opportunities in the international investment field. One country

after another has found itself, following prostration from the war. First Switzerland and Sweden, then Holland, Denmark and Japan, afterwards Norway and Germany, later Belgium and Argentina, and now France and Italy. There are great opportunities where the currencies have still to be stabilized but I doubt if again in the next half century the quick and liberal profits of the years 1922-27 will be repeated over such a broad territory.

#### *Effect on Securities Market*

It is significant that even in periods of normalcy in economic, banking and political conditions the year-to-year swings in prices of high-grade stocks and bonds are extremely wide. A study of fluctuations in securities over the past forty years demonstrates that there are peaks and valleys between which an organization, trained in values and adhering strictly to the principles of diversification, may secure trading profits of substantial size. It is also a well-established fact that money panics are seldom international in character. There may be one in the United States without producing a counterpart in Germany or elsewhere. So there are always markets in which an investment trust of a world-wide scope may operate to advantage, although one primary market may for a while be closed to it because of its limiting factors.

The effect of the investment trust of this character on the securities market is most important. It has been described in the following language by Dr. Leland Rex Robinson, an authority on the subject and the president of one of the larger trusts:

"They (the trusts) sell securities from their portfolios where markets are buoyant, reinvesting their original capital and a part, or all, of their gains on realization, when markets are depressed, or in securities selling at less than their underlying value. In thus readjusting their portfolios to provide higher yields and to take appreciation profits, they tend to steady stock exchange fluctuations and to reduce the average spread between market prices of securities and their intrinsic worth. The rank and file of investors and marginal speculators are continually tempted to act in exactly the opposite way, that is, to drive securities to dizzy heights when markets are rising, and to 'unload' on a falling market."

In studying the subject of investment

trusts I have been surprised to find how little dread the international investment trust manager has of financial crises and to what degree he privately welcomes the opportunity to enter a market in a state of collapse. When the next big break comes in the American market there will be for the first time in its history an organized buying power of hundreds of millions of dollars representing the most discriminating buyers in existence, whose support at the time will be of vital importance.

Next to diversification, as a primary factor in giving character to investment trust securities, is the policy of conservation of resources. The British trusts have been very careful not to distribute in dividends to their stockholders so large a portion of their annual profits that reserves will suffer. The American investment trusts that have had their business ideal in those of England and Scotland have adopted the same policy. For every dollar paid out to shareholders they have put another dollar, and sometimes more, into their reserve fund. This is the basis on which the great transportation systems of the United States have built up their present impregnable credit position.

#### *Dangers of the Fixed Trust*

The three essential differences between the British investment trust, whose best features the true American trust has adopted, and the so-called "fixed trust" are wider diversification, both national and international, greater liquidity of assets because of the opportunity for substitutions when conditions warrant, and the policy of building up reserves year by year from trading profits.

The popularity of the "fixed trust" and the salability of its shares is based on its simple financial set-up, and the participation that it offers at a small price per unit in the nationally known rich man's stocks. The idea of it is sound intrinsically, if it were not so fearfully abused. Imagine a small-town physician or school teacher with \$500 in the savings bank earning from 3 to 4 per cent. Along comes the "high-powered" salesman who deals in securities one month and washing machines the next. The public is his prey and he cares not how he earns his commission. He learns from some source that Dr. Jones has been studying the stock exchange tables in the newspapers very closely of late and has some



money to invest. He calls on Dr. Jones. He tells him about the investment trust, how successful it has been in England, its principle of diversification, the opportunity that it provides for the man or woman of small means to become a part of the current great bull movements in stocks, "to own with J. P. Morgan and the Du Ponts a share in the United States Steel Corporation and in General Motors and in railroad stocks like Atchison and Chesapeake and Ohio which have made vast fortunes for their holders." He gives the doctor a circular of, let us say, the Great American Investment Trust. The stocks listed are all given ratings by a popular rating agency, and emphasis is placed in the text of the circular on their long dividend records and their relation to basic industries.

This is all good so far as it goes. Bankers' shares, representing a diversified list of well-grounded common stocks, should be a safer investment than the individual shares in the composite account. This form of investment trust, however, lends itself to exploitation by unscrupulous promoters who have caught the imagination of the small investor throughout the East by emphasizing the factors of a scattered risk, and a partnership in the country's greatest and most prosperous enterprises at a small unit cost. The classic example of Ford Motors of Canada "bankers' shares," invented by a modern Wallingford, and intriguing many presumably wise men, has been copied but refined by the present-day purveyors of this type of security.

One objection to the "bankers' shares" form of investment is that it is difficult for the investor to know the prices paid for the original stocks deposited as collateral with the trustee. It would be simple for an unscrupulous management to appraise them at an average of 10 points above the cost price and sell their unit shares on this average, thereby realizing an immediate and very substantial profit. The questionnaire of the Attorney-General of the State of New York, who is investigating investment trusts, in order to prevent a recurrence of the real-estate and mortgage losses, placed at \$1,000,000,000, demands that the purchase price be given. It also seeks light on the amount of the disbursements in the form of regular dividends or extraordinary bonuses made from interest and dividend on securities held in trust. It has been suspected that some of the trusts have

been using the new capital raised by sale of trust units to pay abnormal dividends and thereby stimulate their sales. This is approximately the same practice that was adopted by the casuals of the real-estate mortgage world between 1922 and 1926, some of whom are now in the new realm of investment trust finance.

It has to be admitted that anyone buying fixed or bankers' shares a year ago against a group of strong collaterals would be able to-day to show handsome profits. However, the great volume of public sales of bankers' shares has been made since the stock market moved into dangerous ground and after the conservative trusts had long since liquidated and were lending their money on call or placing their capital in markets outside of the United States.

#### *When Prices Are High*

The greatest element of danger to-day is in the continued purchase of diversified shares at the highest prices in their history, and the issuance of participating units against them at a parity or above the composite price. There is not nearly so free a market for these units as for the collateral and one could easily imagine a situation in which, with a sudden collapse in standard issues, the fixed shares would be unsalable. The holder of these shares has the privilege of obtaining the collateral from the trustee if he present a sufficient number of units. Usually his holdings are small and the option unavailing. Having paid a premium in the first instance for his unit of stock he may be forced to dispose of it at a discount from the composite price of the collateral he cannot command.

Properly set up and honestly managed, the investment trust of the British type furnishes the strongest group of securities that it is possible to obtain. This form of trust will grow with great rapidity in the United States. So will the conservatively operated bankers' shares trust though they will appeal to a more speculatively inclined clientele than the former. Both may be affected for a while by the wolves of finance who are looking for quick profits and a get-away and find the investment trust the readiest medium at the moment for their type of activity. They will be scattered, and the good investment trusts stabilized by legislation now proposed to protect this newest and most popular form of investment security.

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# Britain's Veto at Geneva

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BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

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## *I. The Eighth Assembly of the League*

THE latest Assembly of the League of Nations has been at close range one of the most interesting international spectacles which I have witnessed since the Peace Conference itself. It has been notable, too, as the first occasion in which the division between Allied and Central Powers did not appear. On the contrary, nothing was more striking than the continued and close co-operation of Chamberlain, Stresemann, and Briand, a coöperation which more than a little suggested the existence of something like a Concert of Europe.

While war alignments had disappeared, the meeting at Geneva was dominated by the fact that in the existing state of European governments all League efforts to find any stable foundation for peace and to arrive at any measure of disarmament were paralyzed by the complete break between British and Continental points of view. Just as, a few months ago, the British delegates to the Naval Conference said "No" to all American proposals for naval limitation, Chamberlain and his associates firmly—and with a certain show of resentment—rejected the Continental proposals for a return to the Protocol of the Assembly of 1924, with its threefold project of arbitration, security, and disarmament.

In the face of the demand coming from the small powers and having the sympathetic approval of not a few representatives of the larger nations, Great Britain exercised her great influence to paralyze all attempts to reopen the questions of security and arbitration and thus put a complete veto upon all hopeful achievement in the League meeting. All Europe was conscious of the failure of the League, and all Europe with complete unanimity put the responsibility upon the "Die-Hard" government in Britain, which in Continental eyes seemed resolved to play the game of old Europe against the new and of the balance-of-power against the League.

I am going to analyze the British position in a moment, but at this point it is interesting to see how completely the situation of Britain at the present hour has become like that of Austria after the wars of the French Revolution and the Empire, and how utterly Sir Austen Chamberlain (to be sure, with far less skilful hands) is carrying out the policies of Metternich, or more exactly, the supreme conception, which was repression.

And for the present British Government, as for that of the Hapsburg Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century, there is an international machine available. For Metternich it was the Holy Alliance; for Chamberlain it is the League of Nations. The new ideas and the new conceptions of international relations, the spirit which is that of internationalism and is instinct in all continental liberalisms, seems in Tory eyes in Britain as dangerous to the empire as did other new ideas to the servants of the Hapsburgs.

Precisely as in the minds of the British statesmen who dominated the Naval Conference there was the determination to retain at all hazards the fact of British naval supremacy, whatever the verbal recognitions of the principles of parity, so in this later Geneva conference there was unmistakable the purpose to keep the League an instrument in British foreign policy but to resist at every turn any possibility of the development of the League into a force which might exercise any remote control over British policy.

To the Geneva conference most of the smaller powers sent statesmen committed in advance to take some action to promote the cause of disarmament. In small and large countries alike, the masses were disturbed by the failure of the League's own preliminary disarmament conference and also by the later fiasco of the Three Power Naval Conference. All felt not merely

that European peace has been made less secure, as a result of the failures, but also that the League itself had suffered a dangerous loss of prestige.

Aside from Russia, which is not in the League, and Italy, which under the Fascisti control pursues a course of extreme and intense nationalism, Continental countries generally have interpreted the lesson of the World War as imposing the need of international association. The last struggle demonstrated that for neutrals the suffering was only less than for belligerents, and that for no country was material victory possible.

Thus in all the years since the struggle there has developed a popular and liberal conception that for Europe the single avenue of escape from collective ruin is a degree of association unthinkable before 1914-18. And not unnaturally, European opinion has seized upon the League, which was originally an American contribution, as the expression of this purpose and the machine by which progress might be made.

Continental thought, however, has recognized—in the light of its own experience—that there cannot be peace without disarmament, nor disarmament without security. It has accepted as axiomatic the idea that the single method of arriving at disarmament is to offer to the nations which are to disarm both a moral and a physical guarantee, which to their minds will at least be equal to the guarantee residing in their armed strength. And the double guarantee is found, for Continental peoples,

in the promise to settle all disputes by arbitration and the assurance that in case of an aggression all members of the League will unite to defend the victim.

To the Continental mind there cannot be a war in one corner of Europe without threatening all nations; and as a consequence all nations are equally concerned in keeping peace and have equal reason for using their resources in men and in money to discipline, restrain, or defeat any nation guilty of aggression.

This slow but, in the end, complete evolution of liberal European opinion was expressed in the Protocol of 1924. And the Protocol remains the single method, using as it would the League machinery, which the Continental peoples can imagine for removing the eternal danger of war, getting rid of standing armies, and bringing tranquility.

Despite all the qualifications one must recognize that this Continental conception does envisage to a degree a United States of Europe, with the League of Nations as its legislative body. It does substitute internationalism for nationalism. It does take a considerable step toward the creation of a superstate. And it is essential to recognize that this conception is, broadly speaking, accepted by the liberal, progressive, and, in the European sense, radical elements in all countries on the Continent. It is rejected by all the various nationalists, who would rely upon force, retain armies, seek security through military alliances, and, in a word, revert to pre-war Europe.

## *II. The British Thesis*

The Continental views are, as we have seen, determined by the community of condition and interest of the Continental people. By contrast, the British views are shaped by a totally different set of facts and interests. The United Kingdom is certainly a European state. England can never afford to neglect European conditions, and it has frequently been compelled to intervene in European conflicts to serve British interests.

But the British Empire is made up of Dominions which are as far removed from Europe as is the United States, and equally resolved not to be entangled in European quarrels. Thus, any British Government, Tory or Labor, will constantly be faced with

the dilemma that it cannot get out of Europe, but that every commitment it takes on the Continent not only arouses Dominion opposition but increases the dangers which are inherent in a commonwealth of the British character.

In this dilemma, British statesmanship, true to its genius, has undertaken to arrive at a compromise. This compromise, illustrated by the Locarno Pacts, is based upon the theory that Britain must guarantee peace by force in that quarter of Europe where war would automatically involve the country, but must refrain from all general pledges which might bring Britain into wars which she need not enter. Locarno, which guarantees the status quo on

the Rhine and between France and Germany, seems a legitimate contract, while the Protocol which would commit Britain on the Vistula and the Dniester is an impossible proposal.

This compromise carries a measure of satisfaction to Germany and to France, each of whom in the present hour fears the other's aggressive purpose. And it is equally satisfactory to Belgium and Holland, who are directly protected by the guarantee of the status quo in the Rhine region. But it does not give the least assurance to Poland or Rumania in the face of Russia, nor does it give Poland security in the face of Germany.

Moreover, for France the British guarantee against Germany is not an adequate exclusive guarantee, given the potential superiority of Germany in numbers and machine power. French security is also dependent upon the survival of a strong Poland, equally menaced by Russian and German hostilities and fortified by no British guarantee. Thus France, Poland, Rumania, the nations of the Little Entente, which fear a Hungarian *revanche*, do not believe themselves able to disarm. All equally demand that there shall be some collective guarantee like the Protocol.

In this situation, smaller countries, outside the immediate area of prospective or possible wars—notably Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, and even Holland, all neutrals of the last war, who suffered from it—look with apprehension upon a situation in which Europe continues armed, and little save the exhaustion of all peoples makes a new conflict impossible. All these smaller powers, since they are Continental, perceive that the question of security precedes that of disarmament and can only be approached through some system like that of the Protocol.

The small powers, in the nature of things, are united in the desire to make the League not merely a reality but a controlling force in Europe. If great peoples are withheld by questions of pride and prestige from submitting to the idea of international restraint, the little powers can have no nationalism to outweigh the sentiment for internationalism. They are always in danger and can never alone defend themselves. Nor can they make their voices heard in a Europe dominated by a combination of great powers.

Thus, in Europe you have a combination

of all parties in the small states and in the medium-sized states which are exposed, favoring some international organization based upon the League which shall guarantee peace by force. You have, too, in France and Germany, all the liberal and progressive elements and parties—as contrasted with those nationalistic and reactionary—equally eager to establish peace and determined to make the League the basis of peace and order.

I dwell upon these details because they are essential to the understanding of the last Assembly of the League. To this meeting came the representatives of all European countries, the political ministers, pressed from behind, at home, to accomplish something practical in the way of peace and disarmament. And this pressure was the stronger because, while Europe has not been threatened by any great or general war in the past year, the situation has been disturbing and there have been not a few alarms.

In a word, nine years after the "cease firing" of the World War, the European masses are coming to realize that Europe remains armed despite all the eloquence of politicians and all the show of activity at Geneva. The points of dispute between nations continue and even tend to increase. If in practise war does not immediately threaten, in principle it is hardly less possible than in 1914. Moreover, this dissatisfaction has been intensely stimulated by the failure of the Preparatory Conference.

"Is the League a sham or a reality?" This question is asked insistently and increasingly, and it makes itself heard at each recurring League meeting.

Given a British Government resolved in advance to stand against both arbitration and any universal security pact (that is, against the two fundamental details in all Continental conceptions of peace), and given a Continental demand that the League meeting should accomplish something toward security and disarmament, nothing was more inevitable than that there should be a collision between the British delegates and those of Europe generally.

In an odd way the situation of Chamberlain at the League was like that of Cecil at the Naval Conference. To America, Cecil had to say that the British Empire could not accept any American ideas of the limitation of Naval Armaments because it



was an empire; to Continental Europe Chamberlain had to voice British opposition to the European conceptions of disarmament because Britain was a Commonwealth.

To an American observer it was amusing to note that precisely the same hurt and irritated feelings which were excited by the American rejection of British statements about their naval necessities, were called forth by the general Continental rejection of British explanations of a similar policy with respect to European ideas of disarmament. Isolated the British felt themselves,

criticized and condemned they knew they were, as in the American case before. But while the Chamberlain thesis, stripped of all verbal disguises, was little less than an insistent repetition of *England über alles*, the failure of Europe to perceive the perfect justice of this sentiment pained, perplexed, and in the end angered most Britons.

In the face of all appeal, protest, denunciation, however, British policy remained unchanged and the British veto doomed the Assembly to utter paralysis and failure.

### *III. Failure in the League*

The causes of the failure are highly significant of the actual as contrasted with the theoretical state of the League of Nations. In principle the Assembly is a democratic body in which sit representatives of great and small powers, with equal rights and privileges. Since the small powers outnumber the large, and since they were in the main agreed, nothing would seem more easy than for them to force the issue, precipitate a struggle, and at least in the League carry the day.

Again, what more simple than for France or Germany, in which countries the liberal elements constitute a majority, to undertake the championship of the cause of the small powers? For Stresemann the temptation was obvious. As for Briand, he represented a country which had adopted the Protocol and in the nature of things might seem destined to lead the small powers, whose necessities and views coincide with French. Yet both Briand and Stresemann not merely resisted the temptation but in the end supported Chamberlain.

For this course the reason is simple: Great Britain is the guarantor of French security. No French Government or statesman in the present state of Europe would risk an open break with Britain, perhaps the ultimate ruin of the whole Locarno edifice. Nor would any French representative, at the moment when Germany is clamoring for the evacuation of the Rhineland in the face of French refusal, risk throwing British support to Germany over this vital issue.

On the other hand, Germany, seeking evacuation and having by British aid just obtained a reduction of 10,000 in the number of occupying troops, and hoping for

further favors, would not incur British hostility by supporting a proposal that was opposed with bitterness by the present British Government. At odds over a thousand questions, of which evacuation and the Polish frontiers are only the best known, neither France nor Germany could afford to throw British aid to the other. As for Italy, hostile to the League, in recent days having made profitable side-bargains with Britain, her support for Britain was always assured if never invoked.

In a word, you saw clearly in the whole episode the triumph of the old system of balance of power over the new conception of the League. Stresemann, Briand, and Chamberlain did their business together. They reached their agreements, not the least important of which was to avoid giving any practical support to the campaign of the smaller States for immediate action.

Moreover, France could restrain Poland, her ally, and in a sense dependent. Rumania, coming up for League decision in a controversy with Hungary in which the British voice might be decisive, was quiescent. Holland and the Scandinavian States might protest, they might express the prevailing sentiment of the League; but what could they accomplish?

Not since I was a young political reporter, covering a convention in the heyday of the boss system of the United States, have I seen anything quite to be compared with the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations. In theory the delegates were gathered to carry out the will of their people. Their decision was supreme. But in fact they could do nothing because the big bosses, for their own reasons, as a

result of their own bargains, were agreed that nothing should be done. The parallel was so exact as to be startling.

Nor was this parallel less impressive when all the leaders—Stresemann, Briand, and Chamberlain—paid lip service to the League and its great moral significance, after having by common agreement prevented the League from accomplishing one single item of all that Europe had hoped for and the great mass of the delegates present were eager to undertake. The eternal humbug of those who want to do nothing, that the policy of wisdom is to move slowly and carefully, found different expression in French, British, and German tongues.

Following this performance, the agents and the propagandists as well as the ardent but not too analytical champions of the League spread abroad the pleasant argument that the mere fact that the small nations had dared to speak, that Holland had risked British disapproval and Norway had invited British castigation, disclosed how far Europe had already progressed, and what a wonderful instrument the League had become.

But the fact overbore all this trivial chatter. Europe, the masses in all countries, had once more looked to Geneva for some aid in the supreme question of disarmament and peace. This hope had been denied because the form of the expression was contrary to the material interests of one great power; and that nation had been able, by using its influence over others, to establish a combination of great powers to prevent action in the present assembly. After the failure of the Disarmament Conference, the fiasco of the Naval Conference, the Assembly of the League had met and parted in utter futility so far as the main issue was concerned. In American parlance,

the "steam roller" had passed over the insurgents, and the "machine" had won a new victory.

The essential point in Sir Austen Chamberlain's words and acts was the insistence that there was an inevitable collision between the League and the British Empire, and that in this condition it was the business of British statesmen to keep the League in its place. Not since the pre-war days, when the German spokesmen at the Hague Conference haughtily condemned all proposals for peace based upon arbitration, has any imperialism spoken more unpromisingly in a European council.

Continental Europe believed that disarmament and peace were to be achieved only by reopening the discussion of the principles which underlay the Protocol of the Assembly of 1924. Two years ago Sir Austen Chamberlain came to Geneva and killed the Protocol. This year he made no concealment of his anger that there should even be a suggestion of the re-examination of the principles. Since it had been shown that the whole idea was repugnant to Britain, the Dutch proposal to reconsider it was at once impertinent and unreasonable.

Sir Austen did not merely say that Britain could not accept the Protocol; he announced that the League must not even consider it, because consideration was distasteful to British opinion. And by his influence upon Stresemann and Briand he prevented either from throwing the powerful influence of his country behind what was plainly the demand of all of the smaller States. "I beg and implore of you, ladies and gentlemen, not to attempt to save your lives in the way you are undertaking to do it, because I assure you that way is highly inconvenient to Britain." That was the burden of the public appeal made by Chamberlain.

#### IV. Consequences

Thus, disarmament by League action was as completely prevented in the Assembly as limitation had been forbidden in President Coolidge's naval conference: by the appeal to the argument that British interests might be compromised. And the effect of the British action was to compromise the situation of the League in the face of the masses of men and women all over Europe who have hoped and believed that in it there might be developed some new

agency for world peace. For all of them the League was disclosed, not merely as impotent in the face of British imperialism but, at least for the moment, as the instrument of repression under British inspiration.

When it comes to analyzing the effect upon the League of Nations of the failure of this year, resulting from the British veto, there are certain facts which have to be considered. In the first place no failure of the League, however considerable, could

not bring about collapse and dissolution. As an international clearing-house, as a useful and growing machine to do the international chores of member nations, the League has achieved permanence.

The real question is not whether the considerable institution seated by the shores of Lake Geneva will endure, but far more whether it will be able in the end—as it has not in the least been as yet—to serve the purpose for which it was created, the main purpose in the mind of Woodrow Wilson: that of advancing if not insuring peace between nations. Up to the present time, while it has done admirable things for the finances of Hungary and Austria and for the refugees of Asia Minor, while it is extending its effort to white-slave traffic and the opium evil, the League has not been able to make material contribution to the task of disarmament, which is an opening stage on the way to peace.

This failure has exercised a continuing influence upon the popular appraisal of the League in Europe. Masses of people grow more and more incredulous and suspicious as time passes and as each meeting of the League, whether an Assembly or an Arms Conference, adjourns with a notable output of impressive words and an enormous production of moral sentiments, but without one pen-knife subtracted from the sum total of armaments.

On the subject of disarmament the people of Europe want action; but the League is unable to give action, because there exists a complete and so far immutable difference between British and Continental views. Europe remains armed, the peoples become impatient, and it is not difficult to see how both the Communists and the Nationalists—the extremists on both sides—exploit the situation to discredit the institution both hate.

The danger of repeated failures is obvious. Popular confidence may be abolished, and, lacking this, the League will become no more than a minor machine with certain restricted functions. Moreover, while my League friends explain to me that the present Assembly was notable because for the first time the representatives of small nations *actually dared to criticize* the British repression openly, and the Great British Empire felt obliged to explain, this phenomenon is less apparent to outsiders than the fact that what the British set out to do they did.

It will be a year, it may be several years, before any forward step can be taken in the matter of disarmament. Following the election in Great Britain next year a Labor or Liberal cabinet may send men of a different spirit to Geneva and coöperation may again become possible, as it emphatically is not now. But at the same time elections in France and Germany may or may not bring about other changes less advantageous to the League.

In the case of Great Britain, while it is true that the Labor and Liberal groups, as contrasted with the Tories, view the League with sympathy, and in theory would use it, still they do not regard it with the same eye as the Continental countries. They are not ready to increase British responsibility that security in Europe may promote disarmament. Nor can one escape from the certain sense of condescension with which the British of all shades discuss the League, that "younger association of nations," as Chamberlain described it.

All Britons would like to have a firm association within the empire, a satisfactory settlement with the United States, and, thirdly, have the League an available instrument for keeping the peace in Europe. But the insistence of the Dominions upon managing their own foreign relations disturbs them, the failure to bring the United States to an alliance or to a formal acceptance of naval inferiority irritates them, while the attitude of Europe over the League provokes them to sharp words.

At bottom, while no one wants peace more than the Englishman, he desires in all things to administer peace, not to be an equal partner in constructing it. At bottom British mentality over the Naval Conference was expressed in the readiness to allow us to have as many cruisers as we could prove to British minds we needed. But the idea that Americans should insist upon actual equality, precisely like the notion that Continental States should insist upon non-British views of security, aroused moral indignation in the British mind.

There is an absolute parallel between what happened in the Naval Conference and in the Assembly of the League. In both places the British said "No" to proposals which might have advanced the cause of the limitation of armaments and the work of the construction of peace. In both cases they pleaded that their special and peculiar situation put them in a differ-

ent relation to international undertakings than any one else, and that the whole world must perceive this and accept the British view. In substance the Tory cabinet took its stand on the principle that there could be no step toward disarmament, no move toward peace in the world, which even incidentally involved British risks or seemed however remotely to call upon Britain for sacrifice, without profit.

Because Great Britain holds France and Germany in leading strings, she can make good this method and stifle within the League all progress. If she can continue this policy long enough she will make the League utterly ridiculous and meaningless as a real force. On the other hand, conditions would be changed if a new election brought public men with a different spirit into power in Britain, or if other elections on the Continent brought men who would dare to disobey British commands and insist upon that action which their people demand.

The future of the League of Nations depends upon its capacity to serve as the instrument in the hands of the liberal and progressive men and women of all nationalities in bringing about a new order in Europe, a new system founded upon understandings and not upon armed strength. On the whole, the effort within the League to arrive at this result has been constant, and it has had results. But these results have been only partial and preliminary; nothing has gone beyond the experimental stage. And here is one great power, in a sense the greatest, seeking deliberately to prevent the evolution of the League and employing precisely the methods of old-fashioned diplomacy: secret intrigue and private bargain.

The League to-day is completely paralyzed as a consequence. To say that the League is in revolt against this British course, to indicate that Great Britain is isolated and condemned, is hardly enough. For the sake of the League it would be necessary to lift the British veto—and this has not been done. The British have

blocked the main street; and while none of the inhabitants likes this situation, no traffic is passing. Nor is there any promise of an early renewal of circulation.

A German friend of mine, of a Nationalistic group, disclosed admirably the effect of British example upon the German mind when he remarked: "After a little one might hope that the League will not meet more than once every two years." Meantime, as he implied, awkward and pressing issues could be settled by direct conversations between London, Paris, and Berlin. Of course, any time a bargain was made thus directly, the League might be called in special session to give its moral sanction to what had already become a business contract.

It would not be fair to say that the League took the British action "lying down," or that there were not many evidences of moral indignation and not a few public protests. It would not be fair to say that the British success this year doomed the League to perpetual paralysis. But it is just to say that British action left the League powerless to act on its own initiative, and for the moment transformed it into a thin disguise for the operation of the old-fashioned system whereby Downing Street whispered to the Quay d'Orsay and to Wilhelmstrasse, and the eternal Punch-and-Judy show of wire-pulled statesmen did business as usual.

As a result the League has had a black eye in Europe. It is more suspected and less trusted by the masses. Its friends have been put on the defensive and only its enemies are pleased. Finally, by reason of a British writ of injunction, it has done nothing in the one line where action was demanded, and there is no present prospect, after the Assembly has adjourned, that the writ can be dissolved or progress made.

Thus, two international operations of the British Government at Geneva end with the certainty that Europe will retain its armies, and that the United States and Great Britain will expand their fleets.





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# The Road Under the Hudson

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BY WALDO G. BOWMAN

(Assistant Editor, *Engineering News-Record*)

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SINCE automobile driving ceased to be a curiosity and became a necessity, motorists in our largest city have fretted. Whenever they wished to drive west or south out of New York City, they have had to lose time by putting their cars on ferries. For the Hudson River washes down the western shore of Manhattan Island, cutting it off from New Jersey. Naturally the ferries have been jammed; and as traffic increased, the fretting has increased. Therefore it is not surprising that motorists, truck drivers, and traffic experts alike have dreamed of a bridge across the Hudson between New York City and the Jersey shore.

This month of November that dream will be realized; and its realization is attracting attention in other cities throughout the country, wherever traffic is hemmed in by water barriers.

True, the "bridge" across the Hudson is not a graceful steel structure hung between shore and shore—a bridge like that is to be built some miles up the river, where the shores are higher. The present bridge is the Holland Vehicular Tunnel, built at a cost of \$48,000,000, which now provides a continuous roadway for any vehicle crossing from New York to New Jersey or the other way around. Not only is it a satisfaction to the motorist, but in an engineering and economic sense it is at least the equal of any of the huge bridges for which New York is famous.

It is the first under-water vehicle tunnel designed for modern automobile traffic to be built anywhere in the world, although the wish for some sort of roadway across the Hudson is probably as old as New York City itself. Serious consideration of a bridge across the Hudson began with the twentieth century, when legislative bodies and engineers first concentrated their minds on the problem. In 1913 the first study of a vehicular tunnel was made, and finally, in 1919, the New York-New Jersey

Bridge and Tunnel Commissions were given adequate appropriations.

The commissions began work immediately by selecting as its chief engineer Clifford M. Holland. Mr. Holland had spent his time since graduating from Harvard in 1906 in work on New York's subways, which in several places tunnel under what is known as the East River; and more than anyone else he was responsible for the type of tunnel selected. He had carried the project well along toward completion when in 1924 he died, at 41, a sacrifice to his driving devotion in building the tunnel. No more deserved action could have been taken than when the Tunnel Commissions voted unanimously to name it the Holland Tunnel. "Not only gold and labor, but human life is wrought into what the builder creates. There remains a record in stone and iron of what they accomplished who have gone before."

To the engineer the tunnel is remarkable largely because of the unique system of ventilation which had to be invented for it, and without which a tunnel of such length used by automobiles could not succeed. Otherwise it differs only in magnitude—it is thirty feet across—from other tunnels cut under the Hudson and East rivers to care for railway and subway traffic from Manhattan. Highway tunnels have been used for many years in London and Hamburg. In London the Blackwell Tunnel, beneath the Thames River, was completed in 1897. A second tunnel under the Thames, the Rotherhithe, was finished in 1908. These carry about one million vehicles a year, but of course have no provision for the ventilation made necessary by the modern motor-car. In contrast the Holland Tunnel is designed for no less than fifteen million vehicles each year. That means about 3,800 an hour.

There are really two tunnels, placed side by side. Each has two traffic lanes, but



© Fairchild Aerial Surveys

#### HEMMED IN BY WATER, MANHATTAN ISLAND TUNNELS UNDER THE HUDSON RIVER

The dotted line at the left marks the site of the recently completed Holland Vehicular Tunnel, running more than a mile from downtown New York City to New Jersey. To the right of Manhattan runs the East River, crossed by four bridges. The lowest of these is Brooklyn Bridge; the oblong patch in upper Manhattan is Central Park.

all traffic in one runs west, and in the other east. The tubes are separated at their exit and entrance plazas by two city blocks, the better to care for traffic regulation.

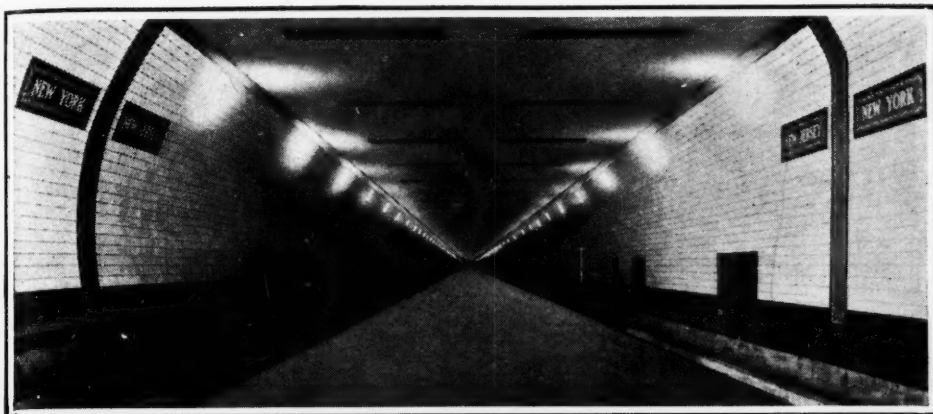
Entering the tunnel one sees not a dark passageway, but a brilliantly lighted thoroughfare. Granite paving blocks like those used on many streets form the roadway. The walls glisten with their lining of white tile, and bright lights shine from behind opaque glass set at twenty-foot intervals on both sides of the roadway. Beyond the walls, ceiling, and roadway, invisible, is the tunnel itself—a series of huge cast-iron rings, lined with a foot of concrete.

Out of sight under the road runs a large passageway through which fresh air is blown into the entire tunnel, and overhead is a similar one through which foul air is discharged. Fresh air flows from the underneath passageway into the tunnel proper through slots about the height of a motor-car hub. The passageway is supplied from both ends of the tunnel, where special buildings have been erected to house enormous blower and suction fans. These yellow brick structures, rising above the motley assemblage of drab piers and craft on the water front, are already familiar sights to commuters across the river.

But will the tunnel be safe? "Yes," answer the engineers, "in spite of the noxious gases pouring from automobile exhausts."

Thorough tests made on human beings subjected to automobile exhaust fumes showed what had to be taken into account when the first design was made. A constituent of these gases, known as carbon monoxide, is what harms the human system. The tests showed that four parts of carbon monoxide in 10,000 parts of air caused no ill effect. A slight effect was experienced with a concentration of six parts per 10,000, while ten parts per 10,000 caused headache and nausea. Much greater concentrations were required before the air became dangerous.

So the ventilation system was designed to permit only four parts of carbon monoxide for each 10,000 parts of air. In addition to this precaution, half again as many fans are installed as are needed at any one time. An operator in the administration building at the New York end of the tunnel will have before him a carbon monoxide recorder, which will show the condition of air in the tunnel. He can thus vary the ventilation as required. The equipment supplies about three and three-



#### A STATE BOUNDARY UNDER WATER

The dividing line between New York and New Jersey marked in one of the tubes of the Holland Vehicular Tunnel. Through the slots visible in the ceiling foul air and gases are drained out. Fresh air is blown through openings at the curb.

quarter million cubic feet of air per minute to the tunnel—forty changes an hour, or an entirely fresh supply of air every one and one-half minutes.

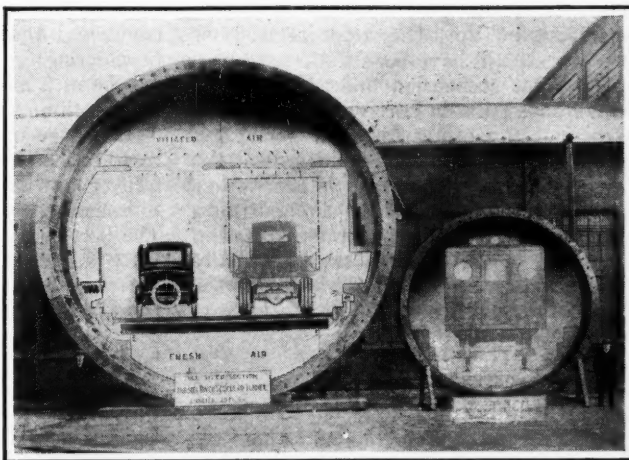
Thus was the major problem of the tunnel solved; but there were other anxious moments in building it. Such a one came when the two tubes, bored under the river from opposite shores, were to meet. Inch by inch they were pushed forward, and when the time came, they opened neatly into each other.

Large entrance plazas are provided to assist in rapid collection of tolls. Red and green signals will govern traffic inside the tunnel, and police officers will be stationed at intervals. So far as the user is concerned, this one-and-three-quarter-mile roadway beneath the Hudson will be neither more difficult nor more dangerous than the safest bridge.

Present indications are, however, that the pleasure-car driver is in for a rude awakening. Arterial highways converge upon the New Jersey tunnel mouth. Warehouses are congregating at both its ends, a railroad is enlarging its freight yards near by, and everything points to the conclusion that an endless

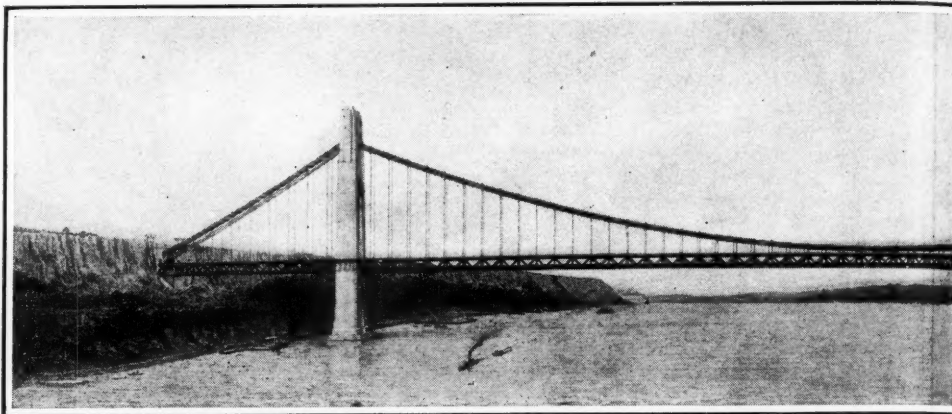
procession of commercial vehicles of one sort or another will pretty well fill up the tunnel.

But that is a side issue. The important thing is that a new and efficient way of getting vehicular traffic across a wide river is about to be achieved. Already a similar tunnel is being pushed under the estuary separating Oakland and Alameda on San Francisco Bay. Detroit is promoting a tunnel connection with Canada. Chicago has considered replacing its bridges with tunnels, and Boston is thinking about a tunnel to connect several of its island portions. Other cities will probably do the same.



#### SHOWING THE GIANT SIZE OF THE NEW TUNNEL

The cross-section at the left, twenty-nine feet six inches in diameter, shows the size of the new Holland Tunnel compared with a man and with the Hudson and Manhattan Railway tube.



# Bridging the Hudson

BY LAWRENCE J. KEEFE

IN 1868, New Jersey granted a charter to a now forgotten Hudson River bridge company. On September 21, 1927, ground was officially broken for the first span to connect Manhattan with the Palisade State. Thus, after two generations have shadowed away, is a dream of Civil War reconstruction days well along in the first process of realization. In 1932, a mere passing of five more years, the time distance that now separates New York City from its neighbor to the west, will have been shattered.

The great suspension bridge, which will swing from a point in Fort Washington Park at the foot of 170th Street, New York City, to Fort Lee, New Jersey, will supplant the Camden-Philadelphia bridge as the world's most gigantic structure. Comparisons, even with the new connection between Pennsylvania and New Jersey, are hardly worth while, so tremendously do the statistics for the Fort Lee-Fort Washington bridge eclipse all others.

Yet, as a former United States Senator, James W. Wadsworth, of New York, said at the ground-breaking ceremony in September: "We are to-day inaugurating the building of the biggest bridge in the world. It won't be the biggest bridge very long, as time goes on, but it will be forever a monument to the public spirit of the people of

these two States and the stupendous energy of our modern civilization."

It is impressive to read that the Hudson River span will measure 3,500 feet. It is somewhat startling to contemplate the rising of its four super-Washington monuments. It is inspiring to pay tribute to the engineering skill that successfully plans a bridge once declared mechanically impossible. To envision the project as it will appear when completed and open to traffic, however, is bewildering. The Hudson River bridge will be of a magnitude that challenges the imagination.

This huge undertaking will be amortized by toll collections. Not tolls that will go on forever, or that will net an actual profit, but tolls merely sufficient to carry all charges. The Port of New York Authority, which is a body-politic and is the agency of the two States in building this crossing, last December sold one-third of an authorized \$60,000,000 bridge bond issue for 95.6377, representing a net cost of only 4.242 per cent. The Port Authority had actively entered into the Hudson River bridge discussion under legislative enactments of 1925, in which appropriations became available on July 1 of that year for preliminary studies. In the following year, the Port Authority's financing and engineering plans were adopted.





#### TO BE THE BIGGEST BRIDGE IN THE WORLD

This first bridge over the lower Hudson River—construction of which was actually begun in September—will be two-thirds of a mile between piers, which are taller than the Washington Monument. This architect's drawing, prepared by Mr. Cass Gilbert, shows how the bridge will appear when completed.

Final borings were commenced immediately after the bond sale, and early last spring bids were received for the New Jersey tower foundation. This contract was awarded on April 29, and work was started in May.

The contract for the New Jersey approach and anchorage excavations was given on June 2. Bids for the steel superstructure, which cover the major part of the work, were opened in the first week of October. Promise of the construction of the bridge within the estimate of \$60,000,000 for initial traffic, is now bright. Similarly, the engineering staff of the Port Authority is confident that only five years will be required to complete this structure.

The total length, including approaches, will be one and one-half miles. From anchorage to anchorage the distance will be 4,800 feet. In the main span, from center to center of the towers, the length will be 3,500 feet, with a clearance of 200 feet. The towers will be 625 feet above water.

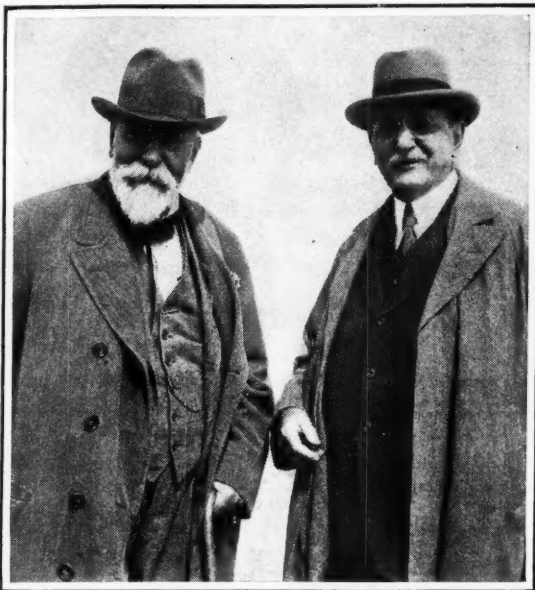
Other data show that the over-all width will be 125 feet. There will be two decks. Provision will be made on the lower deck for four rapid-transit tracks. On the upper deck, there will be one 40-foot central roadway, two 24-foot side roadways and two 6-foot sidewalks. The whole structure will contain approximately 150,000 tons of steel and 600,000 cubic yards of masonry.

Extensive studies were made by the Port Authority into the future traffic requirements upon the bridge. These studies were checked and rechecked until financial

and other interests were fully convinced of their accuracy. The bridge will connect the Washington Heights residential section of New York City with the fast growing Bergen County region of New Jersey. It will be a direct and highly convenient link in motor-transportation between New England and the West.

A bridge between New York and New Jersey over the Hudson River is a such self-evident necessity to the life and trade of the two States that it will be difficult some day to understand how they ever prospered without it. One could spend all his days, including his summers and winters and springs and autumns, in the remotest part of the world, and still by merely examining a map of the metropolitan district of New York, readily appreciate the pressing importance of proper communication between the island of New Amsterdam and the mainland of New Jersey.

It is interesting to know that the Governor of New Jersey, in his inaugural message in 1923, advocated a bridge crossing at, or near, the point since selected, and that the then Governor, George S. Silzer, is now chairman of the Port of New York Authority. It is likewise interesting to recall that Governor Silzer and the Governor of New York, in a joint announcement on August 5, 1923, sounded the call for a bridge to be built by the Port Authority. The then Governor of New York, Mr. Smith, is still Governor, and, incidentally, was a member of the first Port Authority board in 1921.



ENGINEER AND ARCHITECT

Mr. Cass Gilbert, on the right, is the member of the Port Authority staff in charge of the architectural design of the new bridge. With him is Mr. Gustav Lindenthal, engineer and bridge-builder, who for many years has advocated spanning the lower Hudson.

Former Governor Silzer, in recently discussing the bridge said:

Coöperation between neighboring States, difficult in practice though simple in theory, by this work has been proved possible. The way has been paved for further helpful coöperation in this and other fields of public endeavor.

The Hudson River, long an arbitrary boundary and barrier separating the States of New York and New Jersey, is to-day no longer a bar to progress. We are bridging the centuries as surely as we are spanning the Hudson when we bring New Jersey and New York nearer together than they have ever been before in history.

Assurance that beauty of design was a guiding motive in planning the bridge is given by Mr. Silzer in these words:

In attacking the problem of designing this bridge, it was also realized that more than usual attention must be paid to the æsthetic side, not only because of the monumental size and conspicuous location of the bridge in the midst of a charming landscape, but because the bridge must be handed down to posterity not as an engineering monster, but as a truly monumental structure which would cast credit upon the æsthetic sense of the present generation. While the general outlines and proportions were dictated by engineering requirements, certain parts, as towers, anchorages and approaches called for careful architectural treatment to lend them dignified appearance. . . .

Suspended between the shaded hills of the river and reaching to the dignified Palisades on the west; over a magnificent stretch of the historic Hudson that flows beneath in all its majesty, this bridge of simple lines of dignified mien and of architectural harmony, will be not only one of the wonders of the world, but a thing of enduring beauty.

At the bridge ground-breaking celebration in September, Gov. A. Harry Moore of New Jersey thus referred to the inconvenience of present-day travel between New York and New Jersey: "I venture to say that every one of the millions of people who have crowded on and waited for long, slow-moving ferry lines, in fair and foggy weather, has murmured a little prayer to heaven that the day might speedily come when such weary waiting would no longer be necessary."

On the same occasion, Governor Smith remarked:

The Port Authority, to my way of thinking, represents the modern agency for progress in public works. The burden of this great bridge is going to be very small upon the taxpayers of both States. It will be constructed from the proceeds of the sale of Port Authority bonds, and the bridge will earn the interest and sinking fund required to retire the bonds and when retired it stands forever as the joint property of the people of the two States.

Still another official utterance that is of interest in describing the function of the new bridge and the necessity of such connections was made by Julius Henry Cohen, Counsel for the Port Authority, in an address before the American Association of Port Authorities at St. Louis on October 6:

A new face has been put upon transportation in port districts like New York. The motor truck and the motor-bus have come. No longer do we consider a port as a matter of ships and docks and rail connections. . . .

Bridges and tunnels across and under rivers and new highways enable motor trucks to move from terminal to destination more rapidly, reduce the shipper's haulage and reduce congestion in the streets, inevitably make the way for the use of less rather than more expensive land for freight gathering and distribution in congested centers. . . . We cannot go on congesting our streets with motor-trucks. The tremendous overhead that the shipper must carry in his freight service before he reaches the terminal and, afterwards, to get his goods away from the terminal, the pressure upon municipalities to provide new highways and streets, all these factors are at work.

# Broadcasting as an Industry

BY OLIVER H. P. GARRETT

**R**ADIO broadcasting is growing up. It has passed its worst wild fever. Like the gold-fields, real-estate booms, and the early movies, it offered a glittering prospect toward which a multitude of men dove headlong, visualizing quick riches, only to withdraw with empty pockets and a somewhat bewildered expression a short time later.

It is doubtful if a single radio broadcasting station yet has shown a profit at the close of a year's operation. In the five years of commercial programs over the air, the Government has issued nearly 1,500 licenses for broadcasting stations, of which there are now but 694 in existence. Thus, more than 800 operators, numbering in their company laundry proprietors, leaders of religious and health cults, stock promoters, and divers other gentry, have fallen along the road. Nevertheless, if the Government did not stand on guard against the erection of more stations, at least the waiting list of three hundred applicants for licenses, and probably many more, would rush into broadcasting. They would be oblivious to the fact that, in the process, they would bring the entire radio industry clattering about their ears and make impossible the chance of profit for any one, including themselves.

The opportunity of thrusting their voices into hundreds of thousands of homes without so much as a knock at the door has

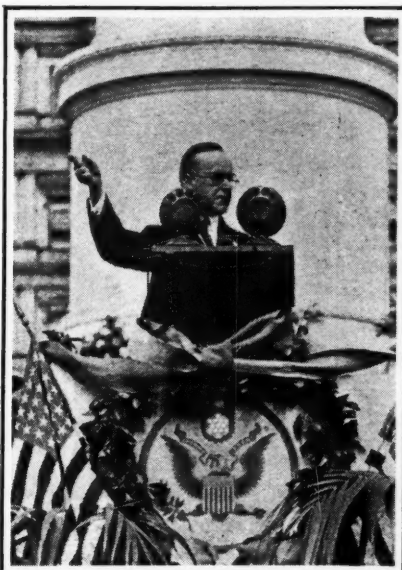
been envisioned by many as the discovery of gold nuggets. The fact that radio publicity is instead more like a vast deposit of copper, no less valuable in the end, but only to be turned into money by foresight, patience, and elaborate care, is just beginning to dawn upon a few. It will not be long

before broadcasting, as a separate commercial enterprise, may be made to pay.

The money spent by advertisers for the purchase of time on the air as a part of the programs of the large broadcasting stations is doubling with each year. The average income of the good stations from these so-called "sponsored programs," although probably not more than \$100,000 a year at the present time, will soon reach the point where the broadcaster may make a profit. In another year, the largest organization of the type in this country, the National Broadcasting Company, now carrying an annual deficit of \$800,000, would be able to break

even, if it were to hold its expenses at their present figure.

But the future of radio and the millions made from it already do not lie in any such balancing of budgets. They rest upon a quantity much less tangible and much more promising—good-will. The operator of a broadcasting station, to make his golden dreams come true, must use the station as a means of advertising and increasing another business, of which the station is



**THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS TO THE NATION**

Several times each year President Coolidge has a nation-wide audience through the public services rendered by broadcasting companies. On the occasion pictured here he was delivering a Fourth of July address in Washington; but there were listeners in every remote corner of the land.

only a corollary. Essentially, the station must serve the same purpose to him as it does to the advertisers who purchase "sponsored programs." As a distinct enterprise, the broadcasting station may soon be able to make a fair profit. As a supplement to other well-organized business concerns it is already paying huge dividends.

On such a basis the Columbia Phonograph Company has organized a chain of stations to compete with that of the National Broadcasting Company. Columbia, in common with other phonograph concerns, suffered severely at the hands of the radio craze. The Victor Company was the first to bow to the inevitable. At great expense it inaugurated a series of radio programs from WEAf, then owned by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Within a year its sales, instead of continuing to decrease, leaped to the highest point in the company's history. Cautiously, Columbia held back. Its sales in this country slumped low indeed. At last, there went out a hurry call for the services of a London executive who had preserved high sales in England. It is told that he went directly from the boat, upon his arrival in New York City, to the office of J. P. Morgan and Co., at No. 23 Wall Street. There he sent in his card. Pinned to it was his personal check for \$1,200,000. "This check stands back of everything I want to say to you," the card read. In a brief talk with Mr. Morgan, this story goes, he obtained the financial support he needed for the creation of the Columbia Broadcasting System. That chain or network began operation in September from WOR, Newark, N. J., with fifteen other stations throughout the country in association with it. By means of the good-will it hopes to establish, Columbia expects to make up for the losses

it suffered in sales when Victor beat it to the microphone.

In the years that WOR has been operated by Bamberger's department store in Newark, such has been the good-will created by the radio programs from that station that the mail-order business of the store has been increased 200 per cent. Likewise, the indirect returns obtained by the corporations owning the National Broadcasting Company have been great, indeed. They could maintain indefinitely that chain of stations at an annual deficit even larger than the present one of \$800,000.

In their case, the profit to be derived from broadcasting is more easily ascertainable than it is in most. The owning companies are the Radio Corporation of America, the General Electric Company, and the Westinghouse Electric Company. The first is the sales organization of the other two, which are manufacturers of the most widely sold radio sets. If by subsidizing elaborate radio stations and programs they can induce the 20,000,000 or more families in the country to buy sets, instead of the 5,200,000 who now own them, their profit, by doing their normal share of the new business, would be as enormous as it is obvious. Because they foresaw the direct profit to them in the success of broadcasting, the General Electric and Westinghouse were among the earliest group of broadcasters in the field.

It is a curious fact that hundreds of other manufacturers of sets and radio accessories, with a half a dozen

notable exceptions, including Atwater Kent, have taken no part in the development of broadcasting. Although they have stood to gain the most by radio permanence, many of them have been content to make fortunes by the work of their far-seeing rivals.

With the number of radio manufacturers and the direct nature of their interest in



MARION TALLEY, OPERA STAR, SINGS FOR THE RADIO AUDIENCE

The Victor Talking Machine Company, far from considering the radio a competitor, employs the newer device as an indirect aid to increase the sale of its own products. In a series of monthly concerts during the winter season it enables radio owners to listen, without cost, to the foremost singers and musicians.

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the success of broadcasting, it appears that most of the stations would be operated by them. Instead, daily newspapers are the most numerous broadcasters. Others are hotels, department stores, insurance companies, advertising agencies, public utilities, city governments, automobile distributors, fraternal organizations, churches, labor bodies, a playing-card company, a manufacturer of flour, and a school for chiropractors.

#### *Advertising by Radio*

All of them have been running their stations at a loss, and each year the loss has increased. Only slowly have advertisers been won to the new medium as a business asset. Suspicious of innovations, and demanding exact figures, many of the largest advertisers have hung back waiting to learn the experience of their rivals.

There have been no exact radio figures to convince them. The public, through the newspapers, has become blandly convinced that radio listeners of a single program frequently number millions. So accustomed has the lay mind become to large numbers that radio audiences have been estimated at ridiculous proportions. Nor have unscrupulous and over-enthusiastic broadcasters been guiltless of fostering this fallacy. No small number of stations have professed to "cover the country" with programs, and offered in proof letters from radio listeners from every State in the Union.

But it is conceded by reputable stations that the radius which their programs cover with sufficient clarity to be of real service to the advertiser and the listener does not exceed 100 miles. In fact, WEA, in New York, has moved to a new high-powered station at Bellmore, Long Island, in order to achieve even this radius consistently. When allowance is made for competing stations, for transmission difficulties, and other factors, the number of listeners upon whom an advertiser may count with any degree of certainty is greatly reduced. Edgar H. Felix, author of "Using Radio in Sales Promotion," and now a broadcasting consultant of many large advertisers, estimates that a good program from a good station will not command an audience greatly in excess of 100,000. There have been unusual broadcasting events, like the inauguration of the Victor series of programs, which have been presumably heard



#### FOOTBALL, BASEBALL, OR BOXING

Forty thousand may see the game or a hundred and forty thousand the fight; but millions may hear it described for them in detail by these experts. The world's series baseball games last month were broadcast by two "chains," more than fifty stations in all, extending from Maine, to California. At the microphone is Graham McNamee, while Phillips Carlin holds the glasses.

by a large proportion of the 26,000,000 radio listeners. But for the most part the figures are incomparably smaller. Indeed, conservative stations refuse to estimate their listeners. They tell the advertiser how many radio set owners fall within their 100-mile radii, and let the advertiser figure the audience out for himself.

The chain system of broadcasting is an effort to place the radio audience on a national basis. Upon it, apparently, the future of broadcasting rests to a large degree. It enables the stations far from New York to maintain a high quality of programs, through telephone pick-up from key stations. But never will the associated stations become mere automatic re-broadcasters of programs sold from New York. Not more than one out of one hundred stations is run as a separate enterprise. As a result, most stations must maintain their individuality in preference to selling

all their time to advertisers, lest they lose the good-will which is the purpose of their operation. Both the National and Columbia systems are reputed to insist that the stations in their groupings retain their local identities as much as possible. It is as much a result of this policy as of the hesitancy of many advertisers to use radio that 90 per cent. of the programs presented from most of the large stations are paid for by the stations.

#### *Tact Essential to Good-will*

The growth of the use of the air by advertisers has been stimulated both by chain system and by the extraordinary results obtained by many who have preceded them in the new field. Happiness Candy, Victor, Goodrich, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and many other large concerns have reported almost miraculous results. But broadcasters take great pains to point out that radio good-will is a supplement, not a substitute, for advertising in newspapers and magazines. And with good reason.

Radio good-will is not advertising at all in the accepted sense. It takes the novitiate

on the air much time and money loss to find this out. In the early days of broadcasting the advertisers were eager to make the new medium as patently effectual as possible. As a result, they went on the air with long plaudits for their products, patronizing assertions of their own philanthropy for doing such a "service" to the public, and almost pathetic appeals for mail. They forgot that radio listeners had but to turn a dial to end the unhappy conversation.

But over the period of radio's infancy, a new technique has been developed. More and more the advertiser has become convinced that the broadcasting station offers him the opportunity to win enthusiasm only when he does not openly solicit it. Very modestly now, if he is sensible, he "ties-in" the program he offers the name of his company and its product. He is well repaid for such bashfulness.

The radio listener is the most volubly appreciative of human species. Thousands of letters are received each day by shrewd advertisers in which the writers swear undying allegiance to the products of a company which has given them such splendid music or such an amusing trio. Left to his own devices, the radio listener will all but sign away himself and his family for life to the exclusive use of his benefactor's articles of commerce. But let the latter be over-anxious for such assurance, let him show the slightest indication that he thinks he is doing his listeners a favor, and he is buried under the avalanche of condemnatory mail, while a still greater body of his listeners quietly tune out and devote their ears and subconscious minds elsewhere.

The radio listener knows that he gets his entertainment free because of the advertising value it holds. With a little mental acrobatics, he convinces himself he is entitled to it. If his taste is not offended by the immodesty of the advertiser he will dispense the largess of his purchasing power with a generous hand. But if he is patronized or bamboozled, he not only will tune out and write letters of righteous protest, but will nourish in his bosom a malevolence for the products of the offending advertiser which the latter may never be able to overcome.

This much, analysis of radio mail shows, but not much more. The letters from listeners are unique among the manifestations of human vagaries. One large station



**DIRECTOR OF THE LARGEST "GYM" CLASS**

Arthur E. Bagley, at the left, and his pianist, broadcast every morning a message of health through proper exercise and correct posture, from the Tower of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in New York. Mr. Bagley's sunny disposition seems to transmit over the radio as readily as his words.

employs ten girls to do nothing else but sort the 4,000 letters received each day. Ninety-five per cent. of them are frankly laudatory. Much time and labor has been spent in attempting to win from this flood of mail some of the answers which radio has sought without success. But they have been found all but useless as a means of determining what programs the radio public prefers. There is not found a thimbleful of intelligent criticism in a bucket-load. Nor is radio mail any criterion of the number of listeners a program commands. Much of it is inspired by offer of pamphlets, the desire to obtain the station's acknowledgment as a souvenir, the hope that its author's name will be read through the microphone, or some other motive which would move only a fraction of an audience. About the only accomplishments of radio mail, besides adding to the burden of postmen, have been the demonstration of an improving quality of the radio audience, and the production of freaks of "human interest" material.

#### *Letters Show Human Interest*

No longer are most radio letters illegible. Many now appear on engraved stationery with evidences of wealth in names and addresses. Every station has a special file containing the "sob letters" or other curious documents from listeners. There are the blind who write in how their lives have been brightened by hearing Roxy or the Happiness Boys. There are the elderly, "humiliated by being in a Home," who write almost illegibly of what the Ipana Troubadours or others have done for them. There was Chrisie, who has not seen her father in twenty years, "since I was little," and who wants to find him by radio and is "willing to pay." There is the young woman who wrote of being saved from suicide by the brightness suddenly loosed in her room when she turned on the radio as a farewell gesture. There are the bed-ridden and the lonely men on ranches, in isolated mining and lumber camps, in northern Alaska, and other desolate regions, who fairly weep as they write their thanks. And, of course, there are the persons who wish to know where to find an honest dog breeder, a laundry that will not ruin shirts, and other rarities. All write in to the radio station. Newspaper editors may thank the radio for lifting the burden of this mail partially from their shoulders.



#### **BROADCASTING HAPPINESS**

Billy Jones and Ernest Hare, singing comedians, whose Friday evening half-hour entertainment sent out from several eastern stations is one of the most popular features of broadcasting paid for by radio advertisers.

But not because of the radio letters has the broadcasting technique improved. Almost every new idea for increasing interest in radio has sprung from the stations themselves. It was a former city editor of a San Francisco newspaper, now employed in WEAf, who conceived the manner of "covering" the Lindbergh reception in Washington and in New York. It was his idea that announcers should be placed at different points along the route of march to describe the scenes from their separate vantage places. The result was one of the most vivid achievements of radio. Listeners throughout the country heard the loud cheers, the speeches, the gasping breath of announcers, and, as overtones, the drone of airplane motors.

Constant improvement of radio programs has been essential to prevent its going the way of all novelties. The danger that broadcasting, like diabolio, mah jong, and cross-word puzzles, would prove no more than an entertaining novelty of which the public quickly tires, is believed by all radio men to have passed. Certainly it would seem so. During 1927, \$2,000,000 is being



Photograph by Dr. De Forest Phonofilms

#### DR. CADMAN ANSWERS QUESTIONS

While no accurate estimate may be made of the number of thousands who listen-in Sunday afternoons to hear Dr. Cadman's talk and his rapid-fire answers to questions, it is plain that he has a larger unseen audience each week than in a whole year of pulpit addresses. The secretary of the Bedford Branch Y. M. C. A. in Brooklyn, H. Walter Reiland, who reads the questions to Dr. Cadman, is at the right of this picture.

spent by advertisers for programs over the National Broadcasting Company's networks alone. Performers who five years ago worked before the microphone for the publicity it gave them are earning sums comparable to, and sometimes in excess of, the amounts paid artists on the vaudeville and legitimate stage. Mary Garden and others have been paid \$5,000 for a single radio appearance. The Happiness Boys, who five years ago worked for nothing, earn \$750 for thirty minutes on the air.

#### *The Radio Artist Appears*

There has evolved the radio performer, distinct from the artists who appear on the vaudeville stage, in concert halls, in opera, in legitimate drama, or in the movies. The most popular "stars" of radio are for the most part men and women who were unknown in any other field five years ago. Roxy was "made" on the radio. So were many others. A multitude of the brightest lights from Broadway and Hollywood have sought to win microphone fame only to "flop" ignominiously. "Radio personality" is a term as concise in its meaning as "movie personality" has become on the Pacific slope.

Radio is developing as an independent industry. Broadcasting stations are creating their own Artists' Bureaus, which deal

with radio performers much as do theatrical agencies with the people of the stage. The National Broadcasting Company has a music library containing scores from operas, musical comedies, and other sources, which have been especially adapted to radio needs. The radio continuity writer has appeared, his task that of writing detailed scripts, for use by program directors in handling the action and words before the microphone of performers in radio dramas. Radio scenarios are being born and soon radio will have its own selected authors. Staffs of musicians are employed for no other purpose than the preparation of music for the microphone. Research workers are hired to look for new music with which to entertain radiolistseners. The program director is coming into

his own as a specialist and an artist, instead of an animated messenger boy. The announcer, in turn, is losing his individuality except as a super-reporter of current events. In the old days, the ill-directed programs, once only consisting of piano selections and "canned music," depended almost entirely upon the announcer for spontaneity and distinction. Now his function as introducer of programs has been reduced to that of an inconspicuous actor in a continuous performance which does not need his wit or verbosity to be woven together.

As many as fifteen microphones are used to transmit in all its intricacy the full production of "Faust." The mixing panel has come into existence, by means of which music and voices from different regions may be joined and blended so that neither one shuts out the other. Mr. Felix suggests the possibility that the future perfection of radio performances may be by the separation of the various units in a program in individual sound-proof studios, blended by electricity to the program director's taste.

The home-made radio set is all but extinct. WEAF has shifted three times to vastly improved and immensely expensive new transmitters. Westinghouse engineers announce a device which would permit 1,900 stations to operate in the 89 channels



now overcrowded by 694. The Radio Commission has stopped the stampede which reached its peak with 733 stations after the courts upset the control of Secretary Hoover in April, 1926. There is no more wave-jumping and air piracy which confused the ether with the squeals of conflicting broadcasts. The National Broadcasting Company has formed an Advisory Council of prominent clergymen, financiers, educators, and labor officials to act as a voluntary guarantee that the company will fulfil its public function. Merlin H. Aylesworth, as president of the same company, talks of "the university of the air" by which it is hoped to furnish educational facilities in a much more comprehensive way than has been attempted by radio as yet.

But not yet is radio out of the woods. One popular radio talker, a newspaper editor, complains that radio, with the development of the chain system, threatens to give America uniform, machine minds. Charges of censorship, with varying degrees of justice, are made against a number of the most important stations. One broadcasting official explains that "we censor the speaker, not the speech," meaning that the prominence and position of the speaker in his community is regarded as the matter of first importance, not his views.

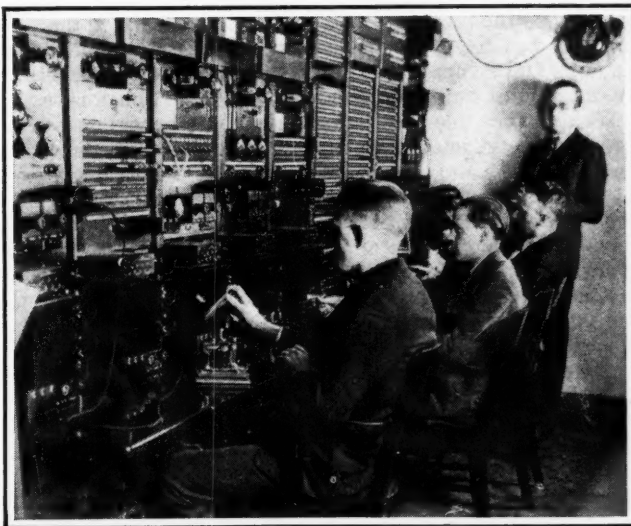
Although questionnaires have shown the development of a tremendous increase in the desire for classical music among radio listeners, and Walter Damrosch has stated his intention to devote his declining years to carrying good music to millions over the radio instead of to hundreds in concert halls, radio entertainment is in danger of complete standardization. Twenty dance orchestras broadcasting at once in a single city is still no unusual phenomenon.

There is as yet no federal statute which prohibits fraudulent sales by radio, such as is prevented from passing through the mails. There are, according to one prominent broadcasting official, not 100 of the 694 stations

in operation which are performing "any public service." A multitude of small stations broadcast each night to no more than a handful of listeners, yet there has been no means devised of clearing them from the air, without unconstitutionally confiscating their property. And until they are cleared from the air, the development of radio to a point where it will be more than a substitute for better means of entertainment is blocked.

Radio broadcasters, with a few exceptions, agree that until the number of stations in this country is reduced to 250, the progress of radio programs is going to be retarded. Not until advertisers can be assured of widespread audiences will they support the expensive programs on which the greatest service of radio is deemed to depend. But, with the reduction of stations and the growth of chain systems, cries against "monopoly," already heard, will increase. The danger of having in a few hands the greatest means of education or propaganda the human mind has devised may well be real.

Radio broadcasting is growing up. It is in its adolescence. It will survive because it is finding a sound economic basis for existence. But it may be a few years before it fulfils its promise to become one of the great industrial figures of the land.



THE CONTROL BOARD AT WEF in NEW YORK CITY

This is the central station of the National Broadcasting Company, where, by the use of telephone circuits, a program—whether it be a presidential address, a sermon, a concert, or a sporting event—may be relayed to all parts of the country.

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# Accomplishment at Lausanne

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BY WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, D.D.

(Professor of Systematic Theology, Union Theological Seminary)

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TWO years ago the imagination of the religious world was captured by an unprecedented event. After more than a thousand years of separation, representatives of churches including in their membership more than two-thirds of all living Christians, met to face their common responsibility to a world in agony and doubt. At Stockholm that responsibility was recognized, its consequences accepted, and the first step taken in the arduous enterprise of mobilizing the resources of the Christian churches for world service.

Twenty-four months later, representatives of the same churches met at Lausanne to consider, not their common responsibility to needy humanity, but the internal differences which separate them from one another. Could a conference meeting so soon and dealing with a theme so restricted be anything but an anti-climax?

Those who were at both conferences will, I am sure, agree that it was not. Spiritually uplifting as the meeting at Stockholm was, great as was the progress made in understanding and sympathy, the significance of the meeting at Lausanne was even greater.

What gave this year's conference at Lausanne its dignity and importance was the earnestness and sincerity which marked all that was done, the eager desire on the part of everyone concerned to avoid even the appearance of sham and unreality and to face facts without evasion or reserve. It is doubtful if there has ever been a conference attended by so many men of eminence, differing so widely in conviction, where there was more frank speech, more earnest desire to understand even though one differed.

The number of communions represented was even greater than at Stockholm, and the character of the delegates, if possible, more representative. There were in all 87 separate churches represented. Many of those who were at Stockholm were also at Lausanne—notably the Archbishop of Upsala, President Simons, Archbishop Germanos,

Professor Deissmann, the Bishop of Bombay, Prof. Wilfred Monod, Bishop Cannon, and Dr. Cadman. Both Bishop Brent and Dr. Garvie, chairman and vice-chairman of the Lausanne Conference, had been at Stockholm. But new figures appeared whose presence added to the significance of the proceedings: distinguished leaders of the Orthodox Church, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Friends, whom it is impossible here to name. Bishop Gore was a prominent figure. The Bishop of Gloucester and Dr. Tislington Tatlow headed important committees. The Continental churches were worthily represented and many missionary leaders were there.

## *Where Progress Can Be Noted*

The outstanding feature of the Lausanne Conference was the unanimous adoption of a report on the Church's Message to the World. This action conclusively demonstrated that, in spite of the differences which still divide Christians as to the authority of creeds and the principles of their interpretation, it is possible to secure substantial agreement on a confession of faith, religious rather than theological. In this confession, East and West, European and Anglo-Saxon, the older churches of Europe and the Near East, and the newer churches of India and China, found themselves at one. Theologians like Dr. Deissmann, chairman of the committee preparing the report, joined with missionaries like Dr. Zwemer in a common confession of the Christ, in whom all alike recognized the world's Saviour. When one remembers that at Stockholm, only two short years ago, it was not thought wise to appoint any commission on God's purpose for the world, lest the attempt to secure agreement should prove disrupting rather than unifying, the extent of the progress made at Lausanne becomes apparent.

A second notable achievement of the conference was the acceptance by widely dif-

ferent groups of the duty of coöperating for moral service to the world. While the conditions under which this coöperation should be carried on were not defined, there was no difference of opinion as to the principle involved. The duty of Christians to unite for moral service was recognized equally by representatives of churches with widely differing points of view.

In a pamphlet presented to the conference, in which he attempted to define the attitude of the Orthodox Church on the subject of the "Unification of the Christian Churches," the Archbishop of Sofia used the following striking words: "If it is impossible to reach complete spiritual unity among the churches because some churches do not accept the Gospel of Salvation as presented by us . . . it is still possible to *organize* (italics mine) on the basis of general Christian moral principles in coöperation with the other non-orthodox churches for the attainment of the same high ends." The definite acceptance by the representatives of the Eastern Orthodox church of their moral unity with western Christendom must be regarded as a second substantial result of the Lausanne Conference.

#### *A New Spirit of Brotherhood*

Scarcely less significant, though less spectacular, was the acceptance of the reports on the Church, the Creed, the Ministry, and the Sacraments. It was shown that the most intimate questions of Christian faith can be discussed with perfect frankness, and a statement of existing agreements and differences accepted by all concerned. The fact that such agreement was possible is not only a demonstration of the new spirit of brotherhood prevailing among Christians to-day; it will prove an invaluable aid in removing misunderstanding and in preparing for future progress.

These reports were unanimously accepted by the conference, but, in accordance with the preamble, were not adopted. They were received only as proper documents for presentation to the churches. This was in accord with the rule that no action should be taken by the conference without a unanimous vote. In the case of the report on the Gospel, for example, the opinion was very generally entertained that had it not been for this rule, the final statement would have been not only received but adopted.

The Orthodox, the Lutheran, the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, France,

Holland, and Belgium, and the Friends, drew up statements defining their own position. These statements helped to clarify the issue and should prove an aid to mutual understanding.

The women members of the conference also presented an impressive report, considering the contributions that women can make and the place which they should hold both in the councils and in the work of the church of the future.

#### *Decisions that Were Postponed*

It is to be regretted that the time left for the consideration of the last, and in many respects, the most important of the reports—namely, that which dealt with the Relation of the Existing Churches to the Unity of Christendom—was so short that it was deemed best not to attempt to secure its adoption by the conference as a whole. It was accordingly referred without debate to the Continuation Committee, for such further consideration as might be deemed wise. This action, while probably inevitable under the circumstances, was a disappointment to many who had strong convictions which they desired to register. In order to do justice to this feeling, a committee was appointed to receive any further criticisms or suggestions which the members of the conference might desire to make, and in their light to prepare a revised statement to be included with the other five reports in the published record of the proceedings.

Lack of time also excluded consideration of another important issue, that of the present attitude of the churches toward the Sacrament. The question was raised whether—pending the time when full intercommunion is realized—some form of joint or simultaneous communion may not be possible which will bring the unity of the Church in worship to effective expression as we have already succeeded in giving effective expression to our unity in faith.

Suggestions were made as to ways of approaching this difficult but inevitable question, but were not fully considered. Future conferences must deal with this subject if the impression of sincerity and frankness so much in evidence at Lausanne is to remain unimpaired.

It is on this note of sincerity and frankness that I would close. Of the Lausanne Conference it can be said with even more truth than of Stockholm, that the most notable thing about it was that it happened.

Stockholm expressed a hope; Lausanne registered an accomplishment. Stockholm showed that it is possible for Christians to talk about their moral duties while agreeing to keep silent about their religious convictions. At Lausanne, the conspiracy of silence was broken. Lausanne demonstrated that bodies of Christians differing as widely as the Eastern Orthodox and the Friends can discuss the most intimate questions of the Christian faith with frankness and sympathy.

To sum up: the Lausanne Conference registered an advance over that of Stockholm on the following four points:

(1) It showed that it is possible for a company of representative Christians, with-

out violation of individual conscience or ecclesiastical law, to unite in a common statement of the Christian Gospel.

(2) Following the precedent set at Stockholm, it committed those present, pending the solution of the questions of faith and order which still divide them, to organized coöperation in the moral tasks of humanity.

(3) It secured definite statements acceptable to all on many important existing points of agreement and difference.

(4) It defined the issues on which present agreement has not yet been reached in a way to facilitate future discussion and so, it is to be hoped, to bring about more complete understanding and closer friendship.

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## The Church's Message to the World

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**WE, MEMBERS** of the World Conference on Faith and Order, met at Lausanne, August 3-21, 1927, and agreed in offering the following statement to the several Churches as the message of the Church to the world.

(1) The message of the Church to the world is and must always remain in the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

(2) The Gospel is the joyful message of redemption, both here and hereafter, the gift of God to sinful man in Jesus Christ.

(3) The world was prepared for the coming of Christ through the activities of God's Spirit in all humanity, but especially in His revelation as given in the Old Testament; and in the fullness of time the eternal Word of God became incarnate, and was made man, Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Son of Man, full of grace and truth.

(4) Through His life and teaching, His call to repentance, His proclamation of the coming of the Kingdom of God and of judgment, His suffering and death, His resurrection and exaltation to the right hand of the Father, and by the mission of the Holy Spirit, He has brought to us forgiveness of sins, and has revealed the fullness of the living God and His boundless love toward us. By the appeal of that love, shown in its completeness on the Cross, He summons us to the new life of faith, self sacrifice, and devotion to His service and the service of men.

(5) Jesus Christ, as the crucified and living One, as Saviour and Lord, is also the center of the world-wide Gospel of the apostles and the Church. Because He Himself is the Gospel, the Gospel is the message of the Church to the world. It is more than a philosophical theory; more than a theological system; more than a program for material betterment. The Gospel is rather the gift of a new world from God to this old world of sin and death; still more, it is the victory over sin and death, the revelation of eternal life in Him who has knit together the whole family in heaven and on earth in the communion of saints, united in the fellowship of service, of prayer, and of praise.

(6) The Gospel is the prophetic call to sinful man to turn to God, the joyful tidings of justification and of sanctification to those who believe in Christ. It is the comfort of those who suffer; to those who are bound it is the assurance of the glorious liberty of the sons of God. The Gospel brings peace and joy to the heart, and produces in men self-denial, readiness for brotherly service, and compassionate love. It offers the supreme goal for the aspirations of youth, strength to the toiler, rest to the weary, and the crown of life to the martyr.

(7) The Gospel is the sure source of power for social regeneration. It proclaims the only way by which humanity can escape from those class and race hatreds which devastate society at present, into the enjoyment of national well-being and international friendship and peace. It is also a gracious invitation to the non-Christian world, East and West, to enter into the joy of the living Lord.

(8) Sympathizing with the anguish of our generation, with its longing for intellectual sincerity, social justice, and spiritual inspiration, the Church in the eternal Gospel meets the needs and fulfills the God-given aspirations of the modern world. Consequently, as in the past, so also in the present, the Gospel is the only way of salvation. Thus, through His Church, the living Christ still says to men, "Come unto me! . . . He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."



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# Family Life Under Scrutiny

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NEARLY a thousand persons gathered in the city of Buffalo during the early days of October to commemorate the completion of half a century of family social work.

Professors of zoölogy as well as sociology were on the speaking program, and clergymen; but social workers predominated—men and women trained and experienced in every-day contact with conditions in the larger cities.

The American family was placed under the microscope and subjected to a thoroughgoing examination. And what was the diagnosis? That the family is neither dead nor dying. That it may be ailing in spots, requiring careful watching and nursing. That it will emerge a stronger and more satisfying institution than ever before.

W. F. Ogburn, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago, bases his present-day opinions upon many years of close observation and study. The ties which held the family together in the past, he admits, except the tie of affection, have been materially weakened during the past century. But he does not hesitate to say that the average quantity of affection per family unit will be much higher in the future, under new conditions, than in the past. "With women working outside the home, with fewer children, and with more frequent divorce, much more attention will be given to affection within the family." The family as a unit is not doomed to dissolution or even serious weakening, is his conclusion.

Mary E. Richmond, Director of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, contrasted "conditions surrounding the founding of new families" with the health situation of fifty years ago. "America will need for this new task a courage just as high, a spirit of coöperation just as broad." But equally far-reaching gains are to be hoped for.

Frank J. Bruno, Director of the Department of Training for Social Work at Washington University, St. Louis, declared that the family is supreme as the conservator of all that is most precious in human relations. "How to make men and women

so that they want to participate in the joint adventure of family life, and how to equip them so that they may do it successfully, are the real tasks which face America to-day."

Prof. Paul H. Douglas, of the University of Chicago, blames increased divorce upon industrialism. "The range of employments open to women makes it possible for wives to leave their husbands and to dissolve relationships which have become irksome. The increasing ability of women to stand economically upon their own feet has in turn made men more willing to break off marriage ties." But he believes that natural forces will operate in favor of permanence—the love of children, the expense of shifting alliances, and the fact that men and women hunger for permanence as well as for change.

Miss Gordon Hamilton, of the New York School for Social Work, believes that the family as an institution is being tested as never before, but that it will survive. "As a vigorous organism, capable of slow but almost unlimited adaptation, the family can hardly be excelled." If the people who are now so alarmed over the breakdown of the family unit would only try their hands at changing a few families, she challenges, they would be astonished. "No one knows better than social workers how hard it is genuinely to modify a family, let alone doing away with it."

Herbert S. Jennings, Professor of Zoölogy at Johns Hopkins University, compares certain new systems proposed for man—polygamous families, temporary families, and the like—with similar conditions among insects, birds, and animals. If man will look into the results, he suggests, possibly the enthusiasm will abate. He might perhaps hope to rival the ants in social organization. Evolution, this scientist reminds us, is never closed; what man may become no one can say. But his long and helpless infancy, the high development of his mating and parental impulses, appear to be most adequately met by the long-life monogamous family.

There was a cheerful note in evidence at this Buffalo conference on Family Life in America To-day.

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# The Divorce Market

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BY ALBERT J. NOCK

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THE last two or three years have seen some curious fluctuations in the domestic divorce market, chiefly remarkable as illustrating the law of supply and demand, which seems inexorable even in matters of this kind. Divorce has always been easy in America. There is a certain anomaly about this, since so few of our social relations have escaped some form of Federal supervision. The regulation of marriage and divorce, however, has always been a State concern, and hence there are within the Union forty-seven different sets of divorce-arrangements available for any citizen to pick and choose from, since under the principle of Constitutional comity, a divorce granted by any State is recognized by all. Even South Carolina, which grants no divorce for any cause, does not disallow the status of a divorced person moving in from another State.

Naturally, then, American divorce developed a distinctly commercial side. It could not very well help doing so. Easy facilities in certain States attracted applicants from other States where they were not so easy, thus making good business for lawyers, and adding considerably to the general purchasing power of the population through patronage of hotels, apartment-houses, shops and places of amusement. The divorce trade, when it came in any volume, was seen to be as profitable and desirable as the tourist trade.

Thus in Nevada, for example, divorce took on the distinct character of a local industry, as much so as silver-mining. The principal city of Nevada in part supports itself on it, and there is evidence of a pretty good allied trade in remarriage. While Nevada has by far the highest divorce rate of any State per thousand of population—fourteen, which is approached only by Delaware with a little under ten—it also has the uncommonly high marriage-rate of fourteen-and-a-half per thousand. Only four States run higher. It may probably be sus-

pected that the immediate remarriage of divorced persons has something to do with raising Nevada's rate, and, as this also puts more or less money into circulation, it is no doubt regarded by the economists in Nevada's legislature as an associated industry.

Where there is good business to be picked up, there competition appears. The effective demand for divorce (that is to say, the desire plus the economic means of gratifying it) increased rapidly throughout the Union, and interested persons who looked the situation over saw a good prospect that it would go on increasing. It was to be expected then that various State legislatures, being composed of people rather responsive to business interests, would put in bids to attract a fair share of the trade. Divorce laws have in fact been eased up in several Western States, mostly by reducing the term of residence, for the statutory "grounds" are usually such as can be managed easily in one way or another under the laws of any State, though in some States, for instance in New York, it can be done only by measures that might conceivably be thought repugnant to good taste.

## *Foreign Competition*

Nevada countered on its neighbors last year by a fifty per cent. cut in rates, *i.e.*, by fixing the term of residence at three months instead of six, as formerly. This was a daring stroke, and it may not justify itself commercially, except for lawyers, because the State will have to double its volume of sales for the same turnover, and with competition what it is, it may not be able to do that. Still, the newspapers reported the filing of forty-eight suits in the first forty-eight hours under the new law, which promises a pretty brisk business, even when discounted liberally as a bargain-counter rush.

Within the past four or five years, however, the cream of the trade—that is to say, the applicants who have most money to

spend and the largest notions of spending it—has been skimmed off by a foreign competition which has undercut the domestic industry heavily in two important respects, secrecy and quick service. The French courts act quickly, publication of their proceedings is forbidden by law, and the applicants are spared a great deal of inconvenience and disagreeable notoriety.

Paris prices are very high, running from \$3,000 to \$10,000 in fees, costs, bribery and kindred incidentals, exclusive of living expenses. If money be no great object, however, the Paris market is all around the best one, probably, for placing an American investment. Something over 200 judgments were handed down in American suits in 1926 by the French courts, and there is every expectation that the returns for 1927 will show double that number.

Mexico went into the market on the heels of France, offering even quicker service with less red tape and for much less money. Four of the Mexican border provinces give divorces on the basis of a few days' residence, and on grounds sheerly nominal—one gets them practically for the asking—and at a fairly low price. Probably an applicant who went to Sonora or Sinaloa with \$1,000 could get himself fixed up sound and shipshape, and be back in a couple of weeks with a trifle of small change left over.

#### *Validity Accepted Though Not Proved*

The Mexican and French divorces have now and then conjured up the spectre of validity, but nothing much has come of the incantations. Indeed, the original law of Yucatan was found constitutionally defective, at least in its customary processes of administration, which would seem likely to make trouble *ex post facto* for the many American couples who made use of it. Yet apparently they have got on without difficulty. One or two Yucatan divorces have been scrutinized, and there have been some legal opinions pro and con, but their validity has never been determined.

The truth seems to be that the question of validity becomes serious only when some one raises it, and in practically all these cases matters have been so managed that no one is interested in raising it. Those who might be interested are somehow forestalled and "squared," the domestic courts do not intervene unasked, and public sentiment, which was once very active in its disapproval of divorce, is now listless.

Like all sumptuary laws, the divorce law is only a registration of public opinion, and can be operative only by the force of opinion behind it, no matter what its formal terms may be. A divorce that everybody accepts without question is valid enough, even if it be technically invalid. The only considerations ever likely to raise the issue are those of property, and these can be, and almost invariably are, successfully anticipated and settled beforehand.

#### *A Rising Divorce Rate*

This, then, is a bird's-eye view of the market in its present state. Within the Union, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Delaware, Florida, and most of the Western States, notably Washington, Nevada, Wyoming and California, make divorce relatively cheap and reasonably easy except in point of time and publicity. Delaware's new law insures secrecy, but elsewhere there seems no way to keep the proceedings dark.

As for time, the best one can hope for is three months. If this is too long to wait, and if one has a little money, one had best try Mexico. If one has a good deal of money and would enjoy a sight of European life while the judicial wheels are turning, Paris is the place. The new divorce-régime in Russia appears to be the easiest, cheapest and most expeditious of all, but as the United States has as yet no traffic arrangements with the Soviet Government, the authorities there would probably refuse jurisdiction in the case of an American applicant.

There is no doubt that these facilities meet a growing demand, and one that has every appearance of stability. From 1906 to 1916 the divorce rate in America gained nearly 3 per cent on the marriage rate, and as much again in the succeeding decade.

In fact one State, Nevada, came very near hitting the balance in 1924 with 1079 marriages to 1037 divorces. In that year the number of marriages in the United States was 1,178,318, and in the following year 1,181,838, an increase of 0.3 per cent. In the same years the number of divorces went from 170,952 to 175,495, an increase of 2.7 per cent. In these years, too, the number of marriages per thousand of population fell from 10.4 to 10.2, while the number of divorces rose from 1.50 to 1.52.

It is to be observed, however, that the phenomenon of a rising divorce rate is not peculiar to the United States. Both in Eng-

land and the Continental countries, the prejudice against divorce is apparently abating, and the divorce rate rising in consequence. France, for example, which granted no divorces at all until 1884, granted 33,000 in 1922—which amounted to 0.82 per thousand of population. In the same year, the rate for the United States was 1.36 per thousand. It is not the rise, but the rapidity of the rise, that is peculiar to the United States.

#### *Varied Opinions*

As a social phenomenon, the rising divorce rate is commonly discussed from three points of view, according to the type of the observer's mind—the legalistic, the sentimental, and what may be called the objective; that is to say, the type that has no particular thesis to sustain, and regards the matter with detachment.

Each class has its own pet set of factors, which it sees clearest, or thinks it sees, and upon which it therefore lays stress. Thus ex-Governor Whitman, a good type of the legalistic mind, bears down hard upon the public's disregard of law and order in condoning collusion and perjury, whereby "people of position and wealth in our communities will regard as lightly their oath on the witness stand as they do their vows at the altar, and still maintain a high standing among their fellows." Others, who identify religion with some form of organized Christianity, attribute the new view of the family to the increase of irreligion, sinfulness and immorality, while others again attribute it to an increasing levity and instability of character. Thus there is no specific agreement about the causes of this change in popular theory, though there is a fair consensus, mostly on *a priori* grounds, that the change is a bad one.

The third class of observers is more disposed to look into the general tendency of economics as affecting the family, and to bring out a set of factors which it finds there. It calls attention to the widespread change in the general economic position of women, to

their newly assumed rôle of a political entity, their possession of votes, whereby they have become an object of interest to politicians, able to trade and deal in behalf of measures favorable to themselves.

It also calls attention to the profit that women may find in divorce as an economic enterprise, since it is notorious that under our laws it is almost impossible for a man to get justice in "framed" litigation with a woman. Even the Treasury's rulings reflect the monstrous partiality of our domestic-relations laws. The divorced husband pays the income tax on alimony; the wife who receives it is exempt. He can not claim exemption as a married man—even the separated husband can not do that—and on the other hand, he can claim no deduction of any kind for alimony.

Nor is there any more specific agreement concerning what should be done, if anything, to check the rise of the divorce rate. One school of doctrinaire legalists, represented by Senator Capper, is for taking to the last refuge of a legalist mind, a Constitutional amendment, while ex-Governor Whitman, speaking for another school not quite so doctrinaire—probably with the experience of other Constitutional amendments before his eyes—goes so far as to say that "where conscience has departed from a community it makes little difference whether the laws are good or bad."

Indeed, many legalists show reluctance to go in for a Constitutional amendment and statutory Federal regulation. The commercial difficulties that stand in the way are obvious, and moreover there is an uneasy sense that, as with the Eighteenth Amendment, for instance, too hard friction on the brakes might set fire to the wagon. They recall the interesting legend of a certain legislature of Bohemia which thought the population was growing too fast, and so forbade any more marriages for a year; and there was never such a crop of babies in all Bohemia as came along the year after this decree had been promulgated.





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# Leading Articles

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World Affairs ~ Sport ~ Science ~ New Ideas

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## Ten Years of Red Russia

ON NOVEMBER 7 the Soviet Government will have ruled Russia for ten years. Its domination has been that of a minority dictatorship, for the Communist Party numbers only a million members, or one-one-hundred-and-fortieth of Russia's population, but the dictatorship has remained firm through revolution, war, and famine. It has made its own task all the more colossal, more unbelievably difficult, by wrecking the old social and economic order, and attempting to put in its place a radically new and wholly untried kind of government.

Its struggles to do this, its failures, and its method of remaining in power in spite of them make interesting reading. The facts have been collected and summarized by the *Information Service* of the Foreign Policy Association, an organization whose aim is to promote intelligent understanding of foreign affairs. The story runs as follows:

The Bolsheviks seized power through a coup d'état made possible by disorganization following the war and the liberal revolution of Kerensky. At once they started to change Russia from an autocratic, almost feudal, society into a radically communistic state. A Supreme Economic Council was set up, which undertook to supply every factory in Russia with raw materials, fuel, and wages for the laborers. But some factories were over-supplied, while others got nothing. Workers, suddenly put to managing factories, could not meet their problems. Frantic efforts were made to keep industry going, but production languished until only

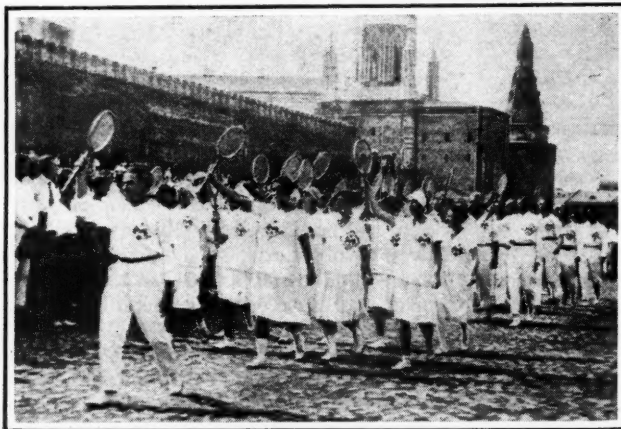
one-tenth of the pre-war volume was manufactured. Meanwhile a whole new order of society had been legislated into existence; and this, on top of the exhaustion, unrest, and social disintegration which seized Russia by 1918, toppled over her economic structure, and sent it crashing in ruins.

Money had already been inflated during the war, but the Communists printed it recklessly, until finally the cost of printing it was greater than its value. Communists declared themselves pleased with this result, saying that it provided a good way to enforce their principle of barter in place of trade through money. Meanwhile the transportation system, like everything else, was crumbling. Railroads had been working reasonably well up into 1918, but no rails were laid for four years thereafter. Rolling stock deteriorated, the administration and organization broke down and rail transport was hopelessly inadequate.



HELPING TO PREVENT ANOTHER FAMINE

Russian peasants harvesting grain. In the early days of Bolshevik rule the rural population suffered much, their grain being requisitioned without adequate return. Present Bolshevik tactics give them more generous treatment.



IS THIS THE NEW RUSSIA?

A parade of the Moscow Tennis Club. Many similar organizations flourish in Russia, in strong contrast to the country's economic ill health.

This had its effect on trade and agriculture, which were badly enough off as it was. Barter was made the only means of exchange when private trade was decreed a counter-revolutionary activity—cast out completely, in other words. The government tried to nationalize production, to give peasants manufactured articles and city workers food. But this meant, in practice, that supplies could only be gotten by confiscation and requisition. City laborers and the army were comparatively well supplied, but the rest of the population, particularly the peasants, were brought dangerously near starvation.

These hard times fell upon the peasants in spite of the fact that, through the revolution, they had achieved their desire of expropriating landlords, and breaking up the large estates. There were about thirty-eight million acres to be distributed, but so great was the number of peasants that in most provinces each man's property increase was only about an acre. According to Communist plans, peasants were to work all their holdings to produce maximum crops for the good of the country, in return for which they would be given their clothing, farm machinery, and other manufactured necessities. But these things were not manufactured, and, lacking other means of getting food into the cities, the government requisitioned the peasants' crops. Food detachments armed with rifles and machine-guns seized much grain—with the result that peasants, seeing that their labor brought them nothing, cultivated as little

as possible. Thus farming joined Russia's economic ruin.

By 1921 the collapse had become so complete that steps back to capitalist methods had to be taken. The New Economic Policy was introduced, currency backed by gold was issued, trade was again permitted, and wages were paid. The leaders called these temporary measures, and declared that they would not give in to capitalism. A régime of State Capitalism was introduced, which Lenin, head of the Soviet Government, explained as follows:

"We are no longer attempting to break up the old social, economic order with its trade, its small-scale economy and private initiative, and its capitalism, but we are now trying to revive trade, private enterprise and capitalism, at the same time gradually and cautiously subjecting them to state regulation just so far as they revive."

Industry picked up. Private trade naturally boomed, but to keep it down the government organized trading syndicates under its control, and encouraged revival of the coöperatives it had once suppressed. Industries were brought into state trusts and syndicates, but in the retail business private trade held on. Once more fields are being plowed, sown, and reaped; the railroads run with something of their former regularity, and the industries move along. But many difficulties still press the government, notably a lack of capital and a farm problem not unlike our own; for still the agricultural population does not receive an adequate return in manufactured goods.

The past ten years in Russia remain as severe an economic ruin as the modern world has seen. In the face of this ruin, how could a minority party keep itself in the saddle?

A partial explanation lies in the preparations of the Communists long before they seized power. The 1917 "October Revolution" was no sudden rise of a few demagogues; it was the advent of a highly organized, tightly disciplined political party that had existed for almost twenty years. The cast-iron discipline brought by this group has enabled the present

Bolshevik government to stay on top. Always it has clung to the two basic principles early laid down: the party must remain radical, and strictly obedient to orders from the top.

This Communist Party of a million members, the present Soviet Government, and the Third International (the organization whose task it is to bring on the world revolution), are pretty much one and the same. It is that fact more than any other that explains the Bolshevik survival in the hectic years since the war. The party has an extremely aggressive spirit, and carefully dominates all workers' organizations or other groups which might prove a source of power, and censors or wipes out, ruthlessly, all opposition. Within the party, iron discipline remains.

Curiously, it is not the workers themselves who are at the top of this party whose announced aim is rule by the workers. The intellectual radicals who founded the party and engineered its rise to power are still in command. They dominate the workers, who, they say, will in time become politically conscious and capable of running the government.

Since its early days Lenin was boss of the Bolshevik group. It was his aggressive leadership that gave the Communist Party its present grip on Russia. His death in 1924 began a new period in Bolshevism, for there was no one man strong enough to hold the reins as he held them.

At present Josef V. Stalin, a peasant's son who early became a revolutionary, and who spent the war in jail, is the chief. His stand is that capitalist society outside Russia is not likely to be overthrown for the present; that relations with Russian peasants must, to provide economic rehabilitation, be improved; and that the best means of keeping private traders out is to get foreign capital for use by the state.

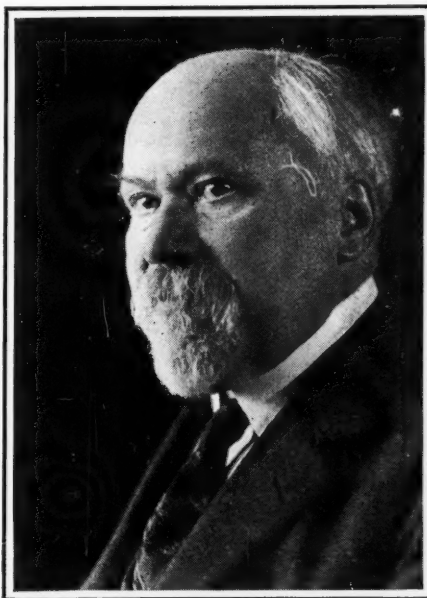
These three points are heresy to those who cling to the earlier conceptions of the party—a fairly powerful group, headed by Trotzky, once almost Lenin's partner, Zinoviev, and Kamenev. Since Lenin's death they have agitated for a purely communistic doctrine; but Stalin holds the reins, and so far the tight bands of party discipline have kept them down. Last summer they were rebuked for a breach of party discipline, but it was decided to let them present their views to the Communist Party congress this month. This indicates that for the first time since 1917 absolute agreement on important questions had not been

reached. It is a question whether party discipline will once more bind the Government and Opposition groups into a whole, or whether the Communist Party, after ten years of aggressive domination made possible largely by party union, will split.

## M. Poincaré, Financial Wizard

A YEAR ago, the whole world was worrying about France's financial future. To-day apparently no one is worried, not even the French. For although much remains to be done before the country will be firmly on its financial feet, the franc is stabilized, the budget balances, and the huge floating debt floats.

In July, 1926, the financial crisis which threatened France was so great that the issue of more paper money or the open repudiation of debts seemed the only alternative to a comprehensive program of fiscal reform that no



RAYMOND POINCARÉ

Premier of France, whose remarkable achievements in rehabilitating French finances during the last year have drawn to him the confidence of all classes of Frenchmen, and have won for him an outstanding position among the statesmen who have contributed to the recovery of Europe from its post-war slump.

ministry seemed strong enough to put through. For months the country had been floundering from ministry to ministry while the confidence of the people grew less and less, and foreign capital cautiously withdrew, making a bad situation worse. Then Raymond Poincaré formed his National Union Ministry and began financial reconstruction. On August 3 he required parliament to vote increased taxation of 9,300,000,000 francs as the first step in balancing the budget. At the same time, the budget was so simplified that it became no longer possible to conceal the holes in the nation's pocketbook beneath its complexities.

The 1926 Budget was the first since 1913 to balance and the year ended with a surplus of current receipts over current expenditures—the first sign of the miracle Poincaré had wrought. The 1927 Budget also balances and so far shows a surplus, in spite of the fact that it provides 4,500,000,000 francs for debt amortization in addition to the 3,500,000,000 francs set aside for the retirement of the French liberty bonds—the Bons de la Défense Nationale.

M. Poincaré, in order to avoid settling the country's debts at the depreciated value of the franc, as Germany was forced to do, formed a Sinking Fund Commission which financed itself by offering a long-term loan at an attractive price. This loan, issued last fall, was considerably over-subscribed—the first successful internal loan in four years. This was a notable sign of the returned confidence of the French people in their government. Using the money thus provided, the Commission proceeded to convert one, three, and six month bills into one and two year bills. Now, as the one year bills fall due, the Commission is sufficiently rich to pay them off, even refusing to renew them. Two year notes bring the higher interest, and have been the more popular; the first of these do not fall due until December, 1928, and the Government should have no trouble in handling them then.

This review of M. Poincaré's achievements appears in the current *Foreign Affairs*. The author, J. A. M. de Sanchez, then goes into the intricacies of the premier's financial wizardry, too long and too complicated to reproduce. For the general reader it is enough to know that Poincaré found France on the brink of a precipice like that into which Germany and other countries crashed in the years after the

war, and is leading it back to firm ground. As Mr. de Sanchez says,

"In the space of one year he has balanced the Budget, consolidated the greater part of the short-term debt maturing in the next three years, reduced monthly maturities of floating debt by over one-half, put an end to all talk of forced consolidation, and paid off a portion of the short-term foreign indebtedness of the State. These measures have been the basis for the return of capital to France, for the maintenance of the franc at the selected level since December last, and for the acquisition by the Bank of France of valuta reserves for its protection. M. Poincaré may thus be said to have fully justified by his choice of means and by his energy in applying them the confidence of those who held that his accession to office meant the inauguration of a period of thorough-going fiscal reform."

Stephen Gwynn, British political commentator in high standing, says of M. Poincaré:

"Poincaré . . . is a curious figure in Europe, extremely unsympathetic to most Englishmen and Americans, and even for his own fellow-countrymen devoid of personal magnetism." Yet "it would not be easy to name another statesman whose achievement is so definite and so admittedly personal as his stabilization of the franc."

## The Struggle in Africa

**D**ARKEST Africa is getting light as fast as European and American capital can make it. Practically unknown to the white man twenty years ago, a dozen railroads now cross it, joining prosperous towns that are British, French, Dutch, Portuguese, or Belgian, rather than African. Scientific data about man, beast and geography are being gathered at a tremendous rate. The world has "cultivated" the continent with an intensity probably unequalled in the history of any other backward country.

Because of this a hundred million or so natives have been obliged to adjust themselves within a quarter of a century to the devices of an industrial civilization which the white man has taken three hundred years to build up and absorb. Their problems occupy Raymond L. Buell in the fall issue of *Foreign Affairs*, in





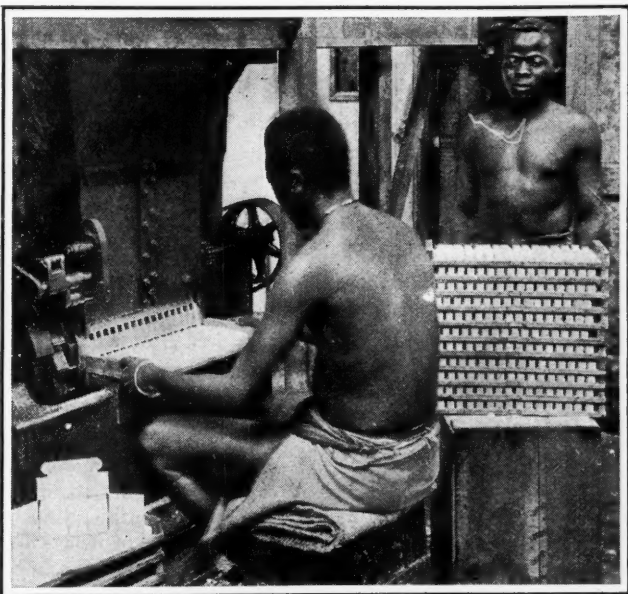
© Publishers Photo Service

## VICTORIA FALLS, SOUTH AFRICA

which he declares that the most serious social problems have been created by this sudden impact. The demand for labor has changed the natives' habits of life; only too frequently their labor is conscripted. Often the native has become a serf on land which, before the coming of the white man, he owned. He suffers from new sicknesses, such as tuberculosis, and from extensions of old diseases, such as sleeping sickness. The power of the white man has shaken the authority of the chief and destroyed respect for the old rules of tribal conduct. Despite efforts of a legion of missionaries, the white man's code has not yet taken its place.

"Parts of Africa to-day hover on the brink of anarchy," writes Mr. Buell. "Certain governments have adopted a colonial policy which will soften the rudeness of the impact [of the new civilization and gradually prepare their populations to adapt themselves to a new régime. . . . They are attempting to train their populations so that eventu-

ally they may be able to govern themselves. . . . There are other governments who, unmindful of this problem and eager for quick returns, have adopted policies which are hastening the dissolution of the continent. . . . If one government ignores the interests



Photograph from Ewing Galloway

## THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION INVADES AFRICA

Zulus at work in a sugar refinery. The introduction of machinery and European ideas is said to be disintegrating native African social systems.

of the native in one part of Africa, the same logic will tempt other governments to emulate its example."

The half-dozen nations who have seized territory in Africa, moreover, regard each other with jealousy and suspicion, and live in continual fear of annexation by a stronger power. They sign away rights of natives and neighbors in return for dubious guarantees, secretly made, of transportation rights and exploitation privileges in a manner which we like to think no longer exists since the World War.

Writing in the *Contemporary Review* for October, H. G. C. Swayne, who has spent many years in Africa, declares that the situation cannot go on. The remedy which he suggests is almost identical with that proposed by Mr. Buell. He recommends that the Government of Africa be carried on under the Mandate principle. The countries now holding territory, mandates, or spheres of influence would continue their control, but under the supervising eye of the League of Nations or of some international group who would see to it that the interests of the natives were safeguarded, and that some uniformity of laws would prevail.

Ridiculous situations exist, such as the five Somalilands, all one wide country inhabited by one homogeneous, intelligent people speaking one tongue and with one Mohammedan religion, which are under five alien Christian administrations, all extremely hostile to one another.

Dreadful, rather than ridiculous, situations arise, where one nation allows guns to be imported and distributed to the wild tribes of the interior who proceed to slaughter, and win for themselves, and incidentally for the nation who gave them their rifles, neighboring tribes who live under a government which does not allow the importation of rifles.

## Bernard Shaw on the Next War

IN ANSWER to an article by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the *Manchester Evening News* that pled for a "United States of Europe" as a means of accomplishing disarmament and insuring permanent peace, George Bernard Shaw wrote in the same newspaper:

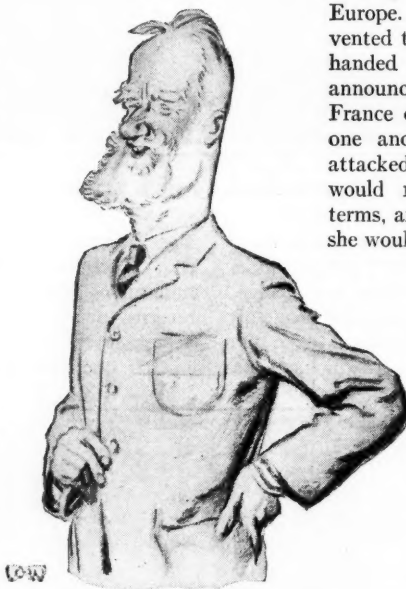
"I think the thing could be done without waiting for a United States of Europe. England could have prevented the war of 1914-1918 single-handed if she had unequivocally announced in 1913 that if either France or Germany opened fire on one another, she would join the attacked party solely because she would not tolerate war on any terms, and that on the same ground she would support Germany against Tsarist attack. She had only to make it perfectly clear that she would not tolerate war.

"England, Germany and France could combine for the same end, and make it morally impossible for the United States to hold aloof if they would only take their foreign policies out of the hands of the blood-thirsty people who are also the chronically terrified people. . . .

"Unfortunately the powers, from mere military and diplomatic habit, are still maneuvering for the inside grip in the next war, and still defending military frontiers which are so grossly incongruous with ethnographic frontiers that peace is impossible until they are rectified.

"Everyone applauds Christmas-card platitudes about peace and good-will towards men, but if anyone points out that the first qualification of a stable frontier is that it should be undefended (like the Canadian frontier), and as far as possible indefensible, he is dismissed from consideration as a joker or a fool.

"However," concludes Mr. Shaw, "even our military amateurs are beginning to doubt



GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

A caricature by Low in the *New Statesman* of London.

whether we can afford so expensive a blood sport as modern war."

Mr. Shaw is far from being the only man in England to hold these views. Leading journalists, in defending the British refusal to endorse the Geneva Protocol for disarmament, arbitration, and security, have said that a militarist enforcement of peace will never be successful. But in the meantime, they argue, while other nations remain armed Britain must maintain her forces for defense.

## H. G. Wells on the Next War

NOT long ago Mr. H. G. Wells and his wife were sitting on the lawn of a pleasant seaside hotel. Charming young people in pretty wraps raced down to the water to bathe; others came chatting from the tennis courts. The seafront below was populous with a happy crowd; the sands gay with children. The faint sounds of a distant band on the pier were punctuated rather quaintly by practise gunfire from a distant fort. About them, on comfortable chairs, sat the mature and prosperous, smiling pleasantly at three military airplanes maneuvering overhead.

Of the hundreds of persons in sight then, Mr. Wells announces in the *New York Times Magazine*, many scores will certainly be killed in the horrible ways of war within twenty years. Not only those of military age, but old and young, men and women, will be suffocated by gases, torn by explosives, frightfully mutilated, and buried and left to die under collapsed buildings. For those who would dismiss his warning with a shrug of the shoulders, it may be pointed out that he wrote of the last war in much the same way before it happened.

It is a commonplace that has been repeated in print a thousand times that a next war, if any, will be as much more horrible than the

late "war to end war" as that was than the Napoleonic struggle. Yet few bother about it, remaining apathetically disinclined to take their minds from what they are doing. The huge majority, says Mr. Wells, "think no more about preventing war than a warren of rabbits thinks about suppressing shotguns and ferrets."

Yet Mr. Wells sees, in this year 1927, omens of another great war as plain as those in 1907 which foreshadowed the last war. Little is being done to prevent it. The League of Nations is about the one agency attempting it, and to Mr. Wells that is so weak that all it does is lull the world into a false security. For a time he thought that after four years of massacre and destruction, the common sense of mankind would say definitely, "Never again," and would be glad to revise its ideas of nationality, empire, loyalty, race competition and propagation, as soon as it had struggled out of the mud and blood in which it was bathed.

But it has merely gone about its business, letting the forces that make for war run loose. Chief of these are professional military preparations, which never stop to ask if war is necessary, but set the stage for it so that a spark can set it off, and the popular adhesion to the idea of national sovereignty. These are two things that ought to be attacked, chiefly by long and exhaustive education. What, asks Mr. Wells, are we going to do about it?

To drive home his question Mr. Wells quotes an official account of a new gas called diphenyl chloroarsine: "A concentration of one part in ten million will probably incapacitate a man within a minute from the pain and distress, and nausea accompanies an exposure of from two to three minutes. . . . The victim is unable to tolerate a respirator."

"Then the victim tears it off," comments Mr. Wells, "and the other gas with which the region has been soaked, killing gas, gets him."



H. G. WELLS  
Low in the *London New Statesman*

## The Misunderstood Democrats

"THERE has probably been no time since the first President in which the public mind held a more distorted picture of public men or was less clear as to political and governmental facts."

With that for a beginning Frank R. Kent, Baltimore newspaperman and political writer, undertakes in the November *Scribner's* to clear away that part of the popular "muggy mindedness" having to do with the Democratic party. It is difficult, he says, for the masses—except farmers and cotton planters—are so intensely absorbed with material things, so preoccupied with a prosperity only now beginning to ebb a little that they do not care much who gets elected or why. Still, they have certain conceptions which Mr. Kent wants to analyze. He lists these three:

The belief that the Democratic party has lapsed permanently into impotency and cannot find a vital, unifying issue.

The belief that a third national defeat will

mean its practical end, and that a new party will edge it out of second place.

The belief that it is so torn by division and doubt, so poisoned by prejudice, that no matter whom it nominates in 1928 it cannot win.

These views are widely held, Mr. Kent finds, partly because a hard-working and prolific Republican propaganda machine spreads them. And partly they are true—as for instance, the first. It is silly to assert that either the present or future outlook of the party is bright. It has no vital and unifying issue, nor much hope of finding one. It has none now and none is in sight—but, adds Mr. Kent, neither have the Republicans. There is in the country only one issue that can really stir the people, Prohibition, and because of the danger of spoiling their chances in local elections, neither party comes out honestly for or against Prohibition in a national platform.

Nevertheless the fact remains that the Democrats lack a rallying cry. Their normal stand is that of a liberal party, but at present there is no room for a liberal program. Eventually as "Big Business, unchecked, grows bigger and bigger, and the high-bracket billionaires more numerous, pampered, and protected, a reaction will come and the parties may again squarely face each other as such—but not now." Thus Mr. Kent finds the Democrats guilty on the first count. They have no clear issue about which to unite.

The idea that another national defeat will kill the party, however, is something different. In fact, Mr. Kent calls it complete bunk, pointing out the lapse of time between Lincoln and Cleveland and Cleveland and Wilson. Moreover, so long as fifteen Southern and border States remain unshakably wedded to the Democratic party, the opposition to Republicans in other States will call itself Democratic. And even if border and some other States at times vote Republican in national elections, their State governments are normally Democratic. There are more Democratic than Republican governors, and almost half of Congress is Democratic.

It is on State machines that a national party rests. All that is wrong with the Democratic party now is that "it is issueless and leaderless, up



THE ONLY THING LEFT AFLOAT, AND THAT MAY DRIFT AWAY

By Orr, in the *Chicago Tribune*.



against a period of prosperity and political inertia. . . . Ultimately the leader will arise, the issue develop. . . . No one knows when, but everybody knows some time. The Democratic donkey is sick, but he won't die," according to Mr. Kent.

Far more interesting is the third question: Can this donkey get well enough in time to win the election next year? Three things can happen at the convention. Either Governor Smith, the most vibrant and colorful man in his party and its most effective campaigner, may be nominated; or finding nomination impossible without a split like that of 1924, he might throw his own weight behind another man of his choice; or a compromise candidate might be picked.

If this last happens, the party might as well give up before it begins its contest. But if Smith is nominated, or, without being himself rejected, names the candidate, there is at least a chance. It is a hard fact that the Democratic party cannot win a majority in the electoral college unless it carries the South, the border States, and the Eastern States, notably New York and New Jersey.

Obviously Smith is far more sure of New York and surrounding States than any one else in the party. But because he is wet and Catholic, he is not well received in the South. Yet it seems to Mr. Kent that while there is some chance of his carrying the South, a candidate pleasing to Southern prejudices could hardly carry the industrial East. Governor Smith, therefore, either in person or behind another man, is the party's one hope. "He's a long shot," says Mr. Kent, "but they sometimes win."

## The New Woman

WOMAN was rudely thrust from her home by the coming of the Industrial Age. She was forced to follow her work to the factory, with the result that she had either to combine a man-sized, woman-paid job with the rearing of children, or to stop having children. The war finished her forcible emancipation, and showed not only that man's work was possible



**RUTH HANNA McCORMICK AND HER CHILDREN**

Prominent among women politicians, and now candidate for nomination as Congressman from Illinois, Mrs. McCormick, widow of the late Senator Medill McCormick, has had time to bring up a family.

for her, but that it held greater pleasures than homekeeping. Contrary to the general impression, militant feminism is not responsible for the New Woman; rather, the New Woman is the result of economic and social forces which no man would suggest that she controlled.

Just what is the New Woman? What does she want and where is she going? asks a puzzled generation. Primarily, the New Woman is struggling to adjust herself to her new place in life. No longer bound down by housework and the incessant bearing of children, she is striving to satisfy the human cravings which suit her personality, as men satisfy theirs. For some women, perhaps for most, love, children and home fully satisfy this craving; many, however, wish to combine literature, art, industry or politics with their traditional interests. The struggle to do this characterizes the New Woman, and the fact that so far the home has suffered in the readjustment constitutes the Woman Question in the eyes of many observers.

These are but a few of the conclusions of the men and women who write sympathetically,

angrily, dubiously, hopefully and enthusiastically in a symposium on the New Woman in *Current History*.

What women want is equality of opportunity between the sexes. They have been wanting it since the beginning of history, says Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Woman Suffrage Association. From time to time women have united to do away with a particularly trying abuse. In the Renaissance, and again in American pioneer days, they fought for equal opportunities in education, against the combined forces of precedent, man, the church, and their own conservatives. Eighty years or so ago they began to realize that if women voted as well as men they could oppose laws which discriminated against their sex. After a battle lasting for a couple of generations, they won the vote. What good has it done them? One more obstacle to the equality of the sexes has been removed.

Every woman discharged from the suffrage campaign did not go into politics, of course. She merely "stepped back into the ranks of the broader woman movement from which she and her predecessors emerged. . . . Like the flow of a river which finds itself checked by a slide of ice and digs a new bed around it and then proceeds upon its way, so the woman movement, with 600 years behind it, concentrated its chief efforts for a time in digging around a huge political obstacle; having finished that task, it flows on."

The actual benefits of universal suffrage are enumerated by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, feminist leader. Suitably enough, most accomplishments have been in the field of social welfare legislation, and agitation for equal wages for equal work regardless of sex.

"The Woman Question," writes Prof. Leta S. Hollingsworth of Columbia University, "is and always has been simply this: How to reproduce the species and at the same time to win satisfaction of the human appetites for food, security, self-assertion, play, etc." Everything that modern science has done to free woman has been fought by the conservatives. Even "the perambulator was deplored as wicked and dangerous when it was first invented. The true mother 'carried her child as God intended.'"

A different point of view is held by Hugh L. McMenamin, rector of the Catholic Cathedral of Denver:

"The New Woman has neither the influence nor the inclination to lift man up. She

has forgotten that she was fashioned by God and nature to be the refining influence in the world, and that her standard of life and conduct should be such that there will always be something for man to strive for and to imitate."

She has voluntarily set aside that "admiration, respect, and esteem which placed her on a pedestal," before which man came to learn lessons of culture, refinement, and morality, and has chosen to descend to man's own level. Her clothes, her attitude toward sex and marriage, her reading, her unblushing presence at modern plays and prize-fights, her utter lack of a sense of shame are signs by which you may know her.

"It is quite impossible for a woman to engage successfully in business and politics and at the same time create a happy home. A woman cannot be a mother and a typist at the same time, and unfortunately she elects to be merely a wife, and out of that condition have arisen those temples of race suicide—our modern apartment houses—and the consequent grinding of the divorce mills."

So speaks the Rev. McMenamin. Dr. Joseph Collins, neurologist and writer, thinks otherwise:

"In its finer form we have the modern woman, trim, neat, and positive, self-supporting, assured of her ability to carry on the work of her choice, at the same time wife, mother, daughter, lover. It is to her that we look with hope and satisfaction." He elaborates:

"In her discoveries of herself she has stumbled upon the fact that far from being what man has always asserted she was, timid, prudish, monogamous, she is bold, immodest, and polyandrous. . . . There can be no doubt that the home and the family are beginning to suffer from the dissemination of New Woman ideas. Revolution inevitably entails suffering, but there has never been a revolution from which advance and good did not flow."

Dr. Collins' remarks may be of additional interest to the reader who knows that he is unmarried.

Martha Bunsley Bruère states the problem the New Woman faces, and the need for what she is doing to meet this problem, in this way:

"Woman's staggering recovery from the jarring crash that came in the last century, when the steam-engine hitched itself up with the coal mines of England and shunted manufacture out of the home, is not yet complete. The spinning wheel in its late-lamented flight

to the factory knocked woman's inherited seat from under her. It is the hunt for a new resting place, for a new job; the adjustment to the new conditions it imposes; the new training it requires; the different physical demands that new work makes, including a new way of dressing to suit the new purpose for which the clothes are worn; the necessary change of mind toward work, oneself, men, marriage, children, government, money, morals and the life everlasting, that make up Feminism to-day."

And so woman—and opinions about her—continue changeable.

### The New Society

**W**ALTER LIPPMANN, chief editorial writer of the *New York World* and author of several books on problems of the modern world, investigates the present state of affairs in an essay on "The South and the New Society" in the current *Social Forces*. He concludes that a man born into the United States in this century confronts a radically different world from that in which his ancestors lived. This is true first of all because the modern American lives in an environment in which most of the facts he deals with, and most of the forces that affect him, are unseen. His great-grandfather, who lived in a village, could see with his own eyes most of the men with whom he did business, or who conducted the governmental affairs that affected him. He saw them in the farms, workshops, stores, and market-places among which he walked with his own feet.

Not so the modern man. He works and sells goods to unknown men, in a distant market. He buys things from remote cities or far-off continents. Often he is directed by executives, by bankers, on whom he has never laid eyes. He votes for politicians he knows chiefly through newspapers, newsreels, and the radio. So, too, he knows the great events of his day in the world at large only at second-hand. These events, which affect the modern citizen vitally, are in themselves so complicated that men who spend their lives studying them can not wholly master them.

Yet under our government each man is supposed to be a sovereign, shaping with his vote the destinies of his nation by deciding questions it is humanly impossible for him to understand adequately. And more often than



WALTER LIPPMANN

not the questions which matter the most—questions of diplomacy or national economy which in the end mean war or peace, prosperity or poverty—do not interest him.

Another difference between the modern man's world and that of his fathers is that there now exists no organized, authoritative body of knowledge which any one man can absorb. Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas knew and understood about all there was to know and understand in their times; but there is so much knowledge to-day, and it is in such constant flux, that it cannot be encompassed and digested by a single man.

A third great difference which has torn the modern world loose from its ancient moorings is that there is no longer an authoritative moral code which contains rules for the modern man's guidance through life. Many persons, of course, still cling to the great principles of morality that have guided their ancestors. But it is in trying to apply them to the modern world that trouble comes. "Thou shalt not kill," for instance; who shall say with authority what that simple commandment means in war, or in capital punishment for murder?

Because of this new world in which he lives, the life of to-day's young man is an inquiry and an adventure. In the nature of things he must seek out his way through his new environment, and he must do so with courage. Therefore it is

his task to battle ceaselessly for the liberty to think and liberty to experiment.

But that is not enough. A still higher and more difficult task is to learn how to use liberty, and how to bequeath it to the next generation enlarged, enriched, and more secure.

For this a personal discipline is necessary; and it is in imparting this discipline, in giving the young generation of to-day an understanding sense that it is part of a cosmic drama which extends through all eternity, that the older generation fails the young man.

"Instead of this understanding," Mr. Lippmann declares, "there is a dreary and bitter theological controversy between fundamentalists and liberals. There is the insistent preachment by his national leaders of a complacent gospel of prosperity. I tell you he looks upon this with a cynical and fishy eye. He does not find that sense of purpose and meaning, that feeling of communion with a high destiny, without which no man can be wholly happy. Our young people amuse themselves furiously. Their tragedy is that they are not very happy."

Thus the leaders preach and practice a gospel of the competitive acquisition of material things. But to Mr. Lippmann that is a gospel of dust and ashes. We cannot live by motor-cars and radios alone, for only as novelties do they satisfy. The young man takes them for granted, and looks about in his new world for something else.

## An Admiral Charges Waste

THOMAS P. MAGRUDER has worn a navy uniform forty-odd years. He has passed through all grades from Midshipman to Rear-Admiral. He has commanded small craft and battleships, squadrons and navy yards; has been in charge of a division in the Navy Department at Washington and attaché at a great European capital. When Magruder

talks about naval affairs it might be assumed that he knows whereof he speaks.

In an article contributed to the *Saturday Evening Post* the Admiral concerns himself with economy in the Navy, or the lack of it. To prove his points he quotes figures. Before the war, in 1916, there were 78,000 enlisted men; in 1926 there were 82,000, a 5 per cent. increase. In 1916 there were 3,916 officers, compared with 8,574 in 1926—an increase of 120 per cent.

"For many years I have been convinced that our Navy is not as strong as it should be, taking into consideration very liberal appropriations made by the Congress." With that deep-seated conviction, Admiral Magruder began to analyze appropriations and disbursements. "There is, I am convinced," he writes, "a much greater overhead than formerly, diverting a large part of the appropriations of the Navy from the operation and maintenance of the fleet to administrative purposes and to the shore establishment."

Treaties for the limitation of naval armaments, in 1922, reduced the capital ships of the United States Navy, built and building, from fifty-six to eighteen. But there are fifty-five Rear-Admirals on the active list. "There was no change whatsoever in the organization. . . . For instance, one Vice-Admiral now commands a force consisting of one light cruiser and six destroyers; one Rear-Admiral commands a force consisting of three tenders, twenty-eight submarines, and four small mining vessels; another commands four auxiliaries—fuel, supply, and repair ships—and five tugs." With each flag officer goes a staff of officers, a band, servants, clerical force, orderlies, etc.

"The typewriter is mightier than the sword," says the Admiral; and he cites the aircraft carrier *Saratoga*, nearing completion, which will have sixty-two typewriters. "It may readily be presumed," he adds, "that the machines will need yeomen to man them, and that these men will be kept reasonably busy . . . to meet the requirements of red tape."

Admiral Magruder declares that overor-



THOMAS P. MAGRUDER



ganization is at its worst on shore. "Before there is real economy for the Navy there must be demobilization of officers on duty at Washington." There are three times as many officers on duty there as in 1916.

At the Naval Medical School last April there were twenty-four officers as faculty and administrators, though only sixteen officers were under instruction.

Not all the Admiral's article is devoted to horrible examples. He makes constructive suggestions. He would reduce the number of navy yards on the Atlantic seaboard. He would delegate authority to commanders afloat to do their administrative work without detailed instructions from Washington. The commander-in-chief of the United States Fleet and his staff of eighteen officers (there were fifteen Admirals, Vice-Admirals, and Rear-Admirals present at last year's maneuvers off Panama) should do much of the administrative work now done at Washington.

For an officer in active service—now Commandant of the Navy Yard at Philadelphia—to criticize in such fashion is unusual.

## Franconia Notch— Sawed or Saved?

SOON the Old Man of the Mountain may look out over a waste of stumps instead of the wooded mountainsides that now stretch in every direction. His stony ears may soon hear the whine of sawmills instead of the singing of the wind in the treetops.

The Old Man of the Mountain is a natural monument formed by the massive face of a cliff when seen from a certain angle. It hangs high on the crest of Profile Mountain, or Mount Cannon, which forms one side of Franconia

Notch, in the White Mountains of New Hampshire. The Old Man himself has been made famous as "The Great Stone Face" by Hawthorne; and the steep-sided, magnificent valley he dominates is known by many thousands of visitors from all over the country.

Those green slopes and the lakes that lie in their hollows are now in danger, according to an article by Richard Wilbur Westwood in *Nature Magazine*. Until a few years ago the preservation of the region was guaranteed by

the owners of the Profile House, a hotel known to all visitors to the Notch. But the Profile House has burned down, and the lands it once protected are now for sale to the highest bidder among the lumber companies.

The mountains on all sides surrounding the Notch are government owned, and safe. But the threatened region contains some of the landmarks that make those who know it love it so well—Profile Lake, from whose surface the Old Man is best seen; Echo Lake, between Profile Mountain and Mount Lafayette; sequestered Lonesome Lake, on the shoulder of Profile Mountain; the Flume, carved

deep down in solid rock by water flowing through the ages; and many miles of rugged mountain trail. All these stand in danger of the sawmill.



THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN

## The Story of Mount Everest

ONE day the Bengali Chief Computer rushed into the room of the Surveyor-General of India exclaiming, "Sir, I have discovered the highest mountain in the world!"

He had just finished a leisurely computation of measurements taken of Himalayan Peak XV some years before, and found it to be 29,002 feet

high. That was in 1852, and soon the peak was named Mount Everest in honor of the Surveyor-General under whom it had been measured. Discovery of its majestic height set a new goal for ambitious man, who ever since then has been drawn by a desire to climb to its summit. Several attempts to stand on this roof of the world have been made, but none have succeeded. Many men have lost their lives in trying, and all who have approached their goal have suffered terrific hardships.

Not only is the actual climb an unprecedented hardship, but it is difficult even to approach the base of the mountain. Before 1913, indeed, it was hardly possible. Mount Everest is surrounded by other peaks, which form a glacier-covered barrier between 23,000 and 24,000 feet high, across which the traveler to Everest must pass. Moreover, the passes are guarded by hostile Tibetan soldiers; and behind them the lamas in their mountain monasteries ceaselessly spy on foreigners. Often in the past they have captured and tortured those intruders they found.

For years the little that was learned about Everest was gained from native explorers who disguised themselves as pilgrims or merchants, and disappeared into Tibet for years at a time. They carried compasses hidden in their amulets and boiling-point thermometers for recording altitude concealed inside hollow walking-sticks. Most of them sooner or later lost their lives at the task.

Capt. John Noel's attempt to reach the mountain in 1913, only fourteen years ago, was one of the early efforts made by a white man. The record of this trip is written in Captain Noel's recent book, "The Story of Mount Everest," of which the present article is a summary. On the 1913 trip Captain Noel disguised himself as an Indian, and, accompanied only by a few hillmen, he crossed the mountain barrier into Tibet by little used passes, suffering from excessive heat and rarefied air by day, and by night camping on a

glacier while the thermometer dropped far below zero.

"A night spent on a glacier holds many sensations," he writes. "The stars in the rare air seem to be larger and brighter than you have known them before. The slowly moving ice gives out weird noises as it rends itself, opening out new fissures with reports like pistol shots. Now and then louder noises, sometimes reaching a deafening crash, tell of rocks falling. . . .

Ice pinnacles whistle shrilly as their sharp edges cut the wind, and the ice caverns moan deeply. Wrapped in your blanket, your breath freezing on its edge, you wait for dawn to come."

The little party reached within forty miles of the foot of Everest, only to be forced back by a troop of Tibetan soldiers.

In Tibet, life is at its sternest, yet there is a wild beauty and fascination about the bare wind-swept plateau and majestic mountains. The people are simple and agreeable, but sunk in a profound superstition carefully fostered by their priests, the lamas, under whose absolute dominion they are. They live in constant fear of devils on earth, and look forward to a particularly unpleasant hell between incarnations. Only the lamas have reached a state of perfection that will enable them to die once for all and go to heaven.

Barley, ground up with grit to aid digestion, yak's meat, mut-ton and buttered tea form their daily diet. Buttered tea is the

traveler's greatest hardship in Tibet. It is made of Chinese brick tea, stewed with yak's butter and salt, and the visitor must drink it to be polite. Tibetans live in two-story baked mud houses, the first story of which is the stable. A bokku, or blanket coat, is woven of yak's hair and wool for each child, and pieces are added as he grows. A man frequently wears the same bokku for a lifetime, without washing it or himself.

The war put an end to further expeditions, but official permission was obtained by the



22,500 FEET ABOVE SEA  
LEVEL

Climbing the "ice chimney" on  
Mount Everest.

Royal Geographic Society and the Alpine Club to send out an exploring party in 1921. The first climbing party set out the spring following. A base camp and supply camps on the way up the mountain had to be established before the work of climbing could begin. On Everest, the majority of these supply camps have to be established farther up than the greatest height to which man had ever climbed, unhampered by any burden. And six or seven weeks is the longest period of good weather that the climbers can count upon before the monsoon begins.

Until this Everest Expedition the record height reached by man without oxygen had been 24,600 feet. This was accomplished by the Abruzzi party ascending Bride's Peak in Kashmir. Although only four hundred feet from the summit when they turned back, they declared it was impossible for human beings to go on. Members of this party stated that they did not believe human life could be supported at any higher altitude. The Everest Expedition not only broke their record, but established a camp at 25,000 feet in which men lived for some time.

No difficulty was found with breathing at 25,000 feet, and even higher, so long as no exertion was made. But the effort of taking a snapshot, or even of eating, became almost insupportable. Walking or lifting even small objects made a man pant as though his lungs would burst! Almost worse than the physical suffering brought on by high altitude is the extreme mental lassitude and depression that seem inescapable.

The most recent Everest Expedition set out in the spring of 1924, after exceedingly careful preparations had been made. Many of the members of the party had taken part in the 1922 attempt. Among these was the leader, Col. E. F. Norton, George Leigh-Mallory, head of the climbing party, Somervell, Geoffrey, Bruce, and Captain Noel as photographer. Andrew Irvine, a young Oxford man new to mountain climbing, Odell, Hazard, Beetham, with Hingston as doctor, supplemented by over a hundred native porters, made up this party bent on conquering the mountain.



THE TOP OF THE WORLD

A photograph of the summit of Mount Everest, taken by Capt. John Noel, who has just written a history of the attempts to conquer the mountain and explore its surroundings.

Many weeks of precious time were lost through unexpectedly bad weather. The supply camps established on the way up the mountain-side had to be abandoned, and later reestablished. Hardship, sickness, and injury badly demoralized the porters, who were kept going mainly by "English air," oxygen.

Yet in spite of this, Norton and Somervell, without using oxygen, broke the record made in 1922 with oxygen, climbing to 28,000 feet. Towards the end they were advancing only eighty feet an hour.

The final attempt to reach the summit was made by Mallory and Irvine a few days later. Odell and Hazard supported them at the highest camp. The first day, a photograph by long-distance lens was taken of them all at 26,000 feet, going up. That night Mallory sent a message back to camp saying that they would make the final spurt next day, starting as soon as it was light. The day dawned mistily.

At noon, it cleared for a short time, and Odell sighted the two climbers "going strong" within six hundred feet of the summit. The mist closed down again, and the men disappeared from sight—vanishing forever.

After a day and night of waiting and search, Odell and Hazard laid their six blankets in the form of a cross against the snow, the signal to the camp below of death.

Perhaps the men reached the summit and were overtaken by nightfall on the return, and froze to death. Perhaps they were killed in "some ordinary mountain-climbing accident." Perhaps they collapsed before they reached the summit; perhaps their oxygen tanks, never reliable, ceased to function. So the remaining members speculated.

Some day, Captain Noel believes, the summit will be reached.

## Football—Reformed and Unreformed

**T**HEODORE ARTHUR DWIGHT JONES, the Tad Jones who resigned recently as football coach at Yale, has watched football become more scientific, more fair, and less dangerous; he has also watched the effects of mounting gate receipts and of what is called "over-emphasis" of the game in college life. In a recent issue of the *Outlook* he sets forth his views.

A hundred and twenty-five men, perhaps, come on the field each season as prospective football players. "Now let us think about some of the things that can be done with those one hundred and twenty-five men toward making university life what it ought to be," Mr. Jones begins.

It is easy for a coach to teach his boys that winning is the most important part of playing football. It is easy for him to shut his eyes to holding, shifting and other tricks which give the team that uses them a tremendous advantage, and which are exceedingly hard to detect.

"Beating the rules may produce victory, but even if

it does, it most certainly is not worth while. Any coach who encourages or permits violations of the letter or spirit of the rules is gambling with the character of his boys."

Mr. Jones points out, however, that the coach who does not do this must fight against the insistent demand for victory of the old grads. But, he continues:

"Football does not need reforming. There is no reason for worrying because a great many more people go to see a football game than would go to see a revival of a Greek play. There may be things in football which are not exactly what they should be, but conditions are improving every year. . . . No coach identified with the game, no matter how successful in the matter of victories, can hope for a long life if he is guilty of doing anything to undermine the ideals of the boys playing the game." Thus speaks a universally liked coach.

Another plea against football reform is based on the contention, not that football does not need reforming, but that most of its reformers are hypocrites. In the November *Scribner's*, Francis Wallace, sports writer of the New York *Evening Post*, declares that although college professors and faculties do a lot of talking about what is wrong with football, and how to right it, they do not admit the real facts, nor suggest the obvious cure.

Football looks healthy enough to the public, the players, and the coaches.

The objection to football comes from the faculties.

It seems unbelievable that these trained minds which have so desperately attacked the problem of commercialism in football should not have thought of the remedy: Eliminate the gate receipts! Football without profit would arouse no criticism.

The public pays for amateur and professional sport alike; and, although football prices are slightly higher than those of professional hockey, baseball or racing, the public is only too willing to pay for its thrills. There is no complaint from the player. He asks for nothing more than the innocent pleasure of rushing upon the field to die for dear old alma mater.



TAD JONES



Suppose that college boxing had been exploited instead of football. "Have you any doubt," asks Mr. Wallace, "that Gene Tunney and Jack Delaney would be in college?" Make all the rules you want, but, so long as popular interest in college athletics and loyal alumni exist young men will be found paying for their college educations with their physical prowess.

And why shouldn't they? asks Mr. Wallace.

"Where, really, is the crime if an alumnus chooses to pay the expenses of a boy through college as long as that boy is a legitimate student? . . . Are they to be denied their only opportunity for an education because they thrill thousands on spectacular Saturday afternoons and because the colleges collect magnificently upon their efforts?

"Why must they play baseball in the summer under assumed names to help with their expenses when any other student can work at the occupation which best suits him with no questions asked?"

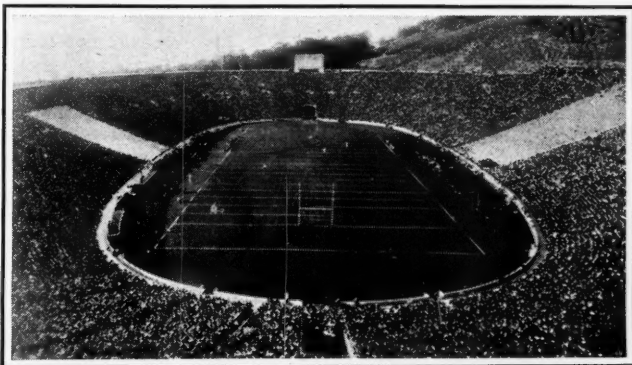
## Golf

GOLF, like love, seemingly thrives on obstacles. The arguments of wives, of sermonizers, of non-golfing business partners, are notoriously unavailing except to spur disciples of the game to greater and greater enthusiasm.

As early as 1457, the Scottish Parliament decreed "that golfe be utterly cryit downe and not usyt." Already the call of the game was threatening the army through neglect of archery in its favor.

A little later the Sunday golfer came into his own. How many sermons were preached against him first we do not know, but early in the sixteenth century the Town Council of Edinburgh ordained that golf should not be played on the Sabbath. The early golfing martyrs who played "in tyme of sermonnes" were roundly fined and publicly disgraced.

Although King James IV decreed that "in na place of the realme be usit golfe or uther



FULL TO THE BRIM

Seventy-five thousand persons, crowded into the stadium of the University of California, testify to the popularity of football.

sik unprofitabill sportis," there are numerous items in his account books charged up to his "clubbis and ballis." It was James VI who at last granted the petition of the people that they be allowed to play golf on Sunday, since they were busy earning their bread and butter every other day. Thereafter, "having first done their duetie to God" they could hie themselves to the links, armed with their clubs shaped like crooks, with horn faces and backed with lead, and with their little hard balls imported from Holland.

Perhaps it was the beautiful Mary Queen of Scots who first gave the game official royal sanction. Anyway, she was a creditable golfer, and is said to have consoled herself on the links while Darnley, her lover, was in prison.

In the British *Nineteenth Century*, Bernard Darwin, veteran British golfer and golf writer, tells of the rapid development of the game from then on.

In 1767, James Durham won the silver club at St. Andrews with a score of 94. The day of "mighty swipers," "anointed clod-stumpers" had dawned. These were the days when the words "scientific" and "perfect" began to creep into golf.

One angry golf widow carried her husband's dinner and night-cap to him where he was practicing by lamp-light on the links, and his reply goes down in golfing history: She "could wait if she likit till the game was dune" but he had "na time for refreshments now."

About this time complaints began to arise from "Oldest Members." The game, they said, was becoming too solemn and serious. The



#### COCK O' THE GREEN

Alexander M'Kellar, first man to practice golf by lamp-light, from a drawing by J. Kay, made in 1803.

days when the golf game ended in a dinner for which unlimited claret was supplied by the losers were gone:

"The solitary parties of players which may now occasionally be seen wandering over the links go through the business of the game with a coldness and heartlessness of manner which announces that the true and ancient spirit of the game is gone" wrote one. They were now "melancholy-looking sportsmen, who resemble more a parcel of lovelorn shepherds with crooks in their hands than a band of jovial young fellows engaged in active and exhilarating sport."

This change was principally due to the large numbers who were taking up the game. It was no longer possible for everyone to know everyone else, and for the whole club to play around together and enjoy "a haunch of venison" and the drinking of toasts afterwards. Mr. Darwin says:

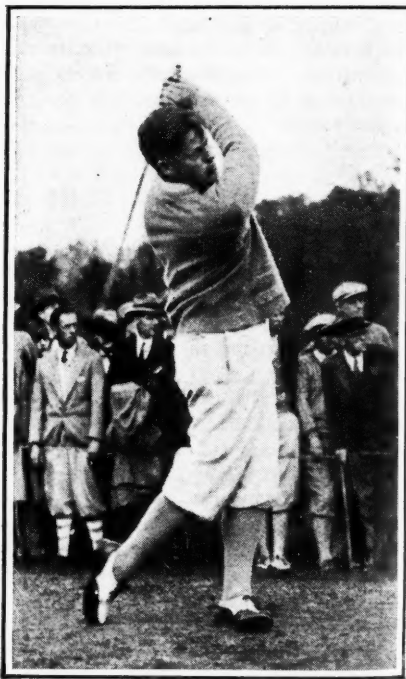
"Anyone who has played golf for forty years or so can remember the very distinct interest with which he once regarded another

fellow traveler who carried golf clubs. He could not fail to recognize him as a fellow mason in an uninitiated world. To-day we think no more of a man with golf clubs than of a man with an umbrella."

#### Mr. Pickwick on Broadway

THOSE who have faithfully loved their Dickens in an age which, along with other irreverencies, has no use for him, have at last come into their own. A three-act comedy "all wool Dickens, yard upon yard," has opened at the Empire Theater in New York, and is daily delighting a certain section of the public which had begun to believe that all drama was either ultrasophisticated or slapstick vulgarity. Critics have for the most part been kind. One and all agree that, as Sam Weller would say, the casting, even of minor characters, is "werry well done, sir." Says Mr. Brooks Atkinson of the *Times*:

"The scenery, the fine old furniture, the per-



#### THE GOLFER OF TO-DAY

Bobby Jones, America's foremost golfer, and example of the best modern form.

fection of the details, the costuming, and the exact casting of the fifty-five parts bring something of the old England to earth again. Here it all is, personified and recreated, just as one imagines it from the racy, facile pages of Dickens."

"'Pickwick' is a plum pudding for those who love their Dickens," writes Alan Dale, dramatic critic of the *New York American*. But it lacks dramatic coherence. "For those who do not love their Dickens . . . it is nothing but a pageant, meaningless, and cryptic." Mr. Dale overheard one first-nighter remark: "I never took much stock in them Shakespearean characters."

The play—the first attempt to dramatize "Pickwick"—is the work of two Dickens enthusiasts, Cosmo Hamilton and Frank C. Reilly, who is also the producer.

As for the story, Mr. Atkinson says that "the play begins at the Whit Hart Inn on the eve of the great Pickwick peregrination. In a loose and diffuse first act the Pickwickians are introduced, *Sammy Weller* reads his poetic love-letter, *Jingle* nearly makes off with *Miss Wardle*, *Tony Weller* draws out his genial philosophy of 'widders.' After the first act, the panoramic drama takes Pickwick through his fatal misunderstanding with the *Widder Bardell*, to the hilarious courtroom trial, the dank Fleet Prison, and finally out to the Manor Farm at Dingley Dell for a friendly reunion."

## A School for the Best Children

THE modern-minded parent is rarely satisfied with the school to which, after much hunting about and disillusionment, he sends the child he has reared painstakingly according to the best modern precepts. He finds that such a child does not fit into the ordinary schools, whose drastic and disciplinarian methods are designed to quell children who have not been wisely trained. In them his child, who considers the acquisition of knowledge delightful, and



MR. PICKWICK PLAYS THE SPINET

who trusts grown-ups, soon learns to consider learning a bore and teachers his natural enemies. So writes Bertrand Russell, whose opinions on child-training and education have helped many an earnest parent, in the *New York Times* for October 2.

"The careful parent finds himself, when the child is ten or twelve years old, in great difficulties as to any way of prolonging education in the spirit in which it has been begun," says Mr. Russell. "The wise handling of infants is a matter requiring much skill, depending upon a combination of knowledge and affection and a certain type of disposition. But where it exists it produces a boy or girl capable of profiting by methods which ordinary schools dare not employ."

According to the testimony of those who have met them, Mr. Russell has two such children himself. And since he has not been able to find a school which will carry out his ideas for their future education, he plans to start one for them and a group of their contemporaries. It will take the children when they are five or six years old and keep them until they are done with schooling. It will aim to produce young people with character, health, intelligence, and a fund of knowledge which they will apply to life.

"No solution of the educational problem can be considered satisfactory unless it produces young men and young women who know more than the majority of the well-to-do in England and America know at present; and what they know they shall know with precision," says Mr. Russell. They must grow up with originality unimpaired, intellectual interest still keen and "with the feeling that knowledge is something to be used in daily life, not merely demanded by the inexplicable fads of examiners."

Games will be played only as spontaneous amusement; their over-organization and treatment as the most important part of the curriculum is one of Mr. Russell's chief grudges against most schools and colleges in Britain and America. He allows that they teach coöperation, but in a way actually hurtful rather than helpful to modern civilization. It is coöperation for the purpose of defeating other persons—a fine preparation for war, but an overstimulation of the competitive impulse, strong enough as it is, that actually retards modern working together.

Mr. Russell would not repress natural competitiveness, but the physical training he would provide would be directed towards overcoming environment or stupidity. Swimming, dancing, jumping, climbing, cross-country running, sailing if possible, will be taught at his school.

Information, like chocolates, will be given sparingly, after urgent demand. The teacher's job will be to arouse the desire for it, and to provide the materials by which the pupil can satisfy his curiosity for himself. The teacher will not seem over-anxious for the pupil to learn. Material that is not interesting to the pupil on its own account—and there is such—will be taught in connection with some one of the pupil's vital interests, so that he will endure willingly the boredom involved.

Boys and girls with a marked aptitude in any one direction—artistic, literary, or scientific—will be allowed to develop that bent. "I do not for a moment believe that Mozart

would have produced better music if he had been well-grounded in Latin grammar," Mr. Russell points his moral.

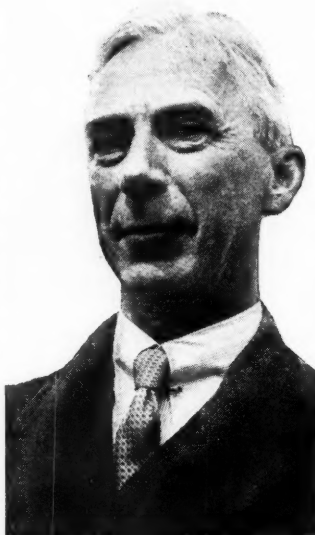
Thinking—the capacity to treat something small as the symbol of something big—will be the most important course in Mr. Russell's school, although it may not appear on the curriculum. Latin and Greek, worship of the athlete, militarism and toyism—the principal things taught at the average English public

school—will be reduced to a minimum. Science and mathematics, modern languages, habits of observation and accuracy, music, dancing, singing, acting, drawing and leisure will all have their place in Mr. Russell's school.

Mr. Russell concludes:

"We believe that, by making education a pleasure, we can make it take fewer hours, with a better result than is possible in a larger school or with less modern methods. And above all we believe that we can generate a degree of intellectual and moral fearlessness which is impossible where ancient taboos and prejudices keep young people's thoughts within a narrow prison."

"I desire a very great deal of the open air, even during lessons. And I desire, what is lacking in many otherwise excellent schools, a good deal of leisure during which boys or girls do what they like in an unorganized way."



BERTRAND RUSSELL

## A Greek Temple of Youth

A MEMORIAL to what Greece has given to civilization, dedicated to the recovery of ancient Hellenic ideals in modern Greece, is soon to arise in Athens. Situated in the city which above all others is a symbol of art, learning and physical perfection, it is itself to be a center from which these things will once again spread over Greece. It will take the shape of a stately marble building, and it will house the Greek Y. M. C. A.

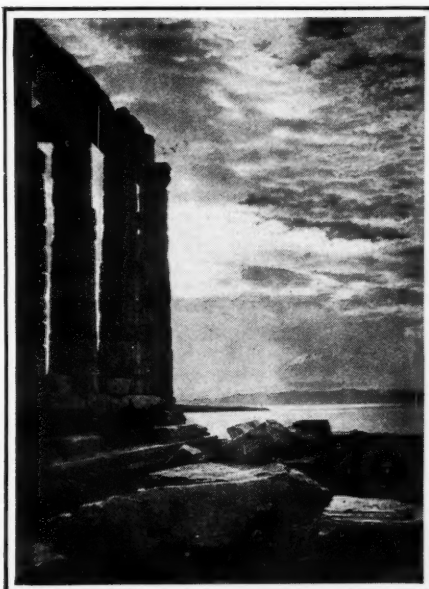


The land on which the building is to rise is the gift of the Greek Government, and is worth a quarter of a million dollars; leading officers of the organization are members of the Government, and representatives of the warring political factions, who are united in enthusiasm for the Hellenic National Y. M. C. A.

The work of the American "Y" with the Greek Army during the war led representatives of the Government, in response to popular demand, to ask American leaders to help form a similar native organization. This Greek Y. M. C. A. is really Greek. Members of the Board of Directors are all Greeks, which means that they are also of the Orthodox Church. The National President is L. K. Roufos, former Foreign Minister of Greece. A Greek bank president, a Greek agent of the Asiatic Petroleum Company, and His Grace the Metropolitan of Corfu head the three main chapters. The National General Director, Ulius L. Amoss, and the National Physical Director are Americans, whom the Greeks look upon as one of themselves, and who are responsible, not to the American Y. M. C. A., but to a Greek Board of Directors and the Greek Government.

For six hundred years Greece lived under Turkish oppression. To teach its people to trust and respect their Government after generations of them have looked on it as their enemy; to give them education not only classical but practical; to restore them physically as well as to teach them coöperation through games, is the aim of the Greek Y. M. C. A. Its organization is already flourishing as one of the most important unifying forces in the country.

Drama and gymnastics, soccer, volley-ball, baseball and basketball, movies, religious

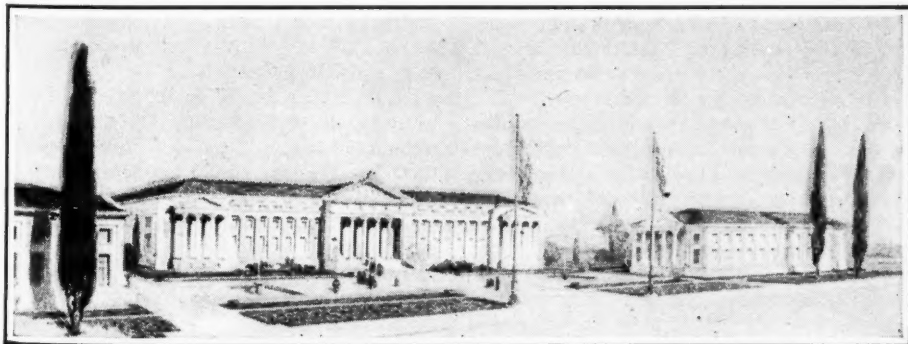


THE GREECE THAT WAS

A corner of the Parthenon, the religious center of ancient Athens, and finest example of Greek architecture.

lectures go hand in hand with classes in modern languages, salesmanship, automobiles, commercial geography, and the like. The point is not to duplicate the work of the schools and universities, which is largely classical and professional, but to supplement it. In the Saloniki Y. M. C. A. alone 26,000 students attended classes last year, 107,000 watched soccer football and other games, 85,000 attended the cinema shows.

Although soccer commands the largest crowds, volley-ball is the most popular game in



THE PROJECTED TEMPLE OF YOUTH IN MODERN ATHENS

Greece. Introduced to the Greek army during the war by American social workers, it has been carried by the returning soldiers to every part of the country. Now, seven years after, a visitor from the United States who may be the first American ever to penetrate to some mountain fastness, is greeted by the sight of a volleyball game on the village green, with net and balls of standard American make.

The building which is to house this growing youth movement is to cost \$1,000,000, which is being raised by Greeks and friends of Greece who remember our debt to her civilization. It is to be made of warm-tinted Pentelic marble from the same quarry as that which built the Parthenon, but is designed by American architects, Messrs. Ludlow and Peabody. Athens being a center of the Orthodox world, the building should serve as stimulus and example for similar organizations throughout the Near East.

A Greek official is quoted as having said: "We are of course deeply grateful to the American people for the material help they have given us—money, food, clothes, buildings. We are even more grateful for the spiritual aid they have given us through the Y. M. C. A. idea."

## Energy—America's Chief Literary Product

**I**F ENERGY alone could make a civilization, America would lead the world in culture," writes Henry Seidel Canby in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, which he edits. "Some American short stories and novels are so energetic that it wearies a tired man to read them. They are high-pressure, double-charged interest getters, taking any hill in high gear, with interchangeable parts and a money-back guarantee attached by the publishers."

The hack writers who produce these stories are more energetic than French and British hacks, just as American bankers and salesmen are more energetic than their competitors abroad. "Our journalists, novelists, feature writers, short-story writers, live with a punch and write with a punch. Poets write more verse here than elsewhere, just as California trees bear more fruit. More plays are produced annually in New York City than in any two cities of the Old World.

"Energy is characteristic of whatever deserves the name of literature in America," Mr. Canby continues. "The French inventions are few in number, and it is easy to see where the British are weak and where they are strong, but there is not a possibility for fiction where Americans are not failing or succeeding, or both. There is no common denominator for 'The Plutocrat,' 'Death Comes for the Archbishop,' 'Elmer Gantry,' 'Manhattan Transfer,' and the stories of Ring Lardner, except American energy.

"We have energy to sell and need borrow none from abroad, where indeed it is notably lacking, especially among the younger writers. It is not a time for borrowing anything from Europe except those moving ideas which must always sweep backward and forward across the seas. Fastidious imitations of English urbanity or French phrase are the pallid streaks in American literature, and the only really successful imitator of the British style of social writing is Sinclair Lewis, whose adaptation of the Wellsian novel is so powerful that every one, including himself, forgets where it came from."

Mr. Canby is convinced that the post-war philosophy of disillusionment simply will not export to this country. The idea of life as an illusion of the senses with no governing principle grows feeble and literary when it encounters the rushing, roaring energy of America. It may be the true modern philosophy, but it does not seem true here in this country where so much is doing.

"Our young writers are going to Paris and London, especially Paris, now as never before. They will find nothing being written there more vital than what we are producing here. They will find less inventiveness in technique, a narrower range of literary subjects, and in style precisely those results of a long and homogeneous culture which it is most dangerous for an outsider to imitate.

"But if we may not learn style," he says, "we may learn much from abroad about the meaning of a good life and all that is implied thereby. We may adjust our sense of values, which at present is knocked askew by the cost of living and the prestige of financial success. The problem is not to learn to write like a European, but to learn how *not* to write like the stereotypes of the million-circulation American magazines.

"The young American has everything—energy, a great market rapidly extending into

Europe, a new self-confidence, a vastly interesting scene, the richest, the most varied, the most mobile since the Renaissance, a country prolific in character types, a nation diverse, yet so unified in custom and desire that a national literature is possible, leisure, too, if he demands it, for writing—he has everything except the wisdom to use and develop his gifts. His worst enemy is himself and the thousands of like-minded Americans who drive him toward Immediate Returns and Large-Scale Production. He cannot master the American scene because he cannot master his own energy for the slow processes necessary in literature.”

His job is to learn to live. This Europe can teach him, but he must come back to America to learn to write.

## Mikimoto's Pearls

**K**ICHICHI MIKIMOTO, who was born in Toba, Japan, nearly seventy years ago, is a farmer of pearls. With the help of Japanese scientists he has found a way to make pearls which are no different in color, form, or substance from the natural pearl. They are produced by man, with the oyster as an ally.

These pearls are not to be confused with artificial pearls, which are made from fish scales and have little value though they are widely used for ornament. There is no reason why Mikimoto's pearls should not be as expensive as the most perfect natural pearls, but his honesty leads him to set a lower price. For his pearls are easier to find.

David Starr Jordan, Chancellor Emeritus of Stanford University in California, tells of a visit to Mikimoto, and explains his process, in the *Scientific American*.

Contrary to common belief, no grain of sand, tiny worm, or other nucleus is essential to start a pearl growing within an oyster. Whether or not there is an outside stimulus, natural pearls grow in a pearl sac, in whose cells the pearl substance is secreted, within the oyster.



Photograph by Ewing Galloway

### JAPANESE WOMEN, RESTING BETWEEN DIVES FOR PEARLS

Mikimoto has taken advantage of this fact; he cultivates oysters, and induces them to grow pearls.

Japan has granted him seventeen patents and the latest describes his method thus: the pearl sac is removed from an oyster, and a fragment of a fresh-water mussel is put into it as a nucleus. The whole is then inserted in the shell-secreting tissue of another oyster, by means of a delicate surgical operation. Indeed it is so delicate that Japanese scientists believed it could not be done; but skilled technicians in Mikimoto's workshops now do it successfully, and lustrous pearls result.

The necessary water farms for the enterprise now include more than forty thousand acres. Parts are reserved for propagating young oysters, in itself a difficult task, and others are reserved for growing pearls. Three-year-old oysters are operated on, and are planted about a foot apart in water thirty or forty feet deep. There they are left for five years, when a skilled staff of young Japanese women, capable of staying under water more than two minutes, if necessary, dive down to bring them to the surface. Women are used because their underwater staying powers are said to be greater than those of the men. Each is clad in a cotton suit something like pajamas, a large cotton cap, and water-tight glasses for better vision. Between dives these women whistle sharply and continually, a practice supposed to improve their staying power under water.



WALTER DAMROSCH PLAYS FOR THE RADIO

## Damrosch Looks Ahead

WALTER DAMROSCH began life with the New York Symphony as the humblest of second violins. His father, founder of the Symphony Society, was his conductor. Later Walter realized the ambition of those days among the second violins, and himself became conductor.

Now—and for many years past—a leading figure in the American musical world, Mr. Damrosch reviews those struggles of fifty years ago and speculates, not too cheerfully, about the future of orchestral music. In the *Century* for November he says:

"I am not entirely at ease about the future of symphonic orchestras. . . . Where are the great new composers to come from, composers to stir the public of the future as we have been stirred by the composers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? We have been blessed, in that these great men expressed and idealized

the emotional needs of our generation. Now there is a dearth of first-class musical composition. . . . We cannot live entirely in the past; art should not only keep pace with us, but should run far in advance, that it may show us the way."

When Leopold Damrosch formed the Symphony Society fifty years ago he was fighting for the popularization of his own firm friends among the masters—Liszt, Wagner, and Berlioz. He had, indeed, come to America from Germany to bring their message. Parts of Wagner's "Die Walküre," "Siegfried," and "Parsifal," and Berlioz's "Damnation of Faust" were played for the first time in this country by Mr. Damrosch's orchestra, and created "such excitement as was never known before in New York's concert life." No recent works have won or deserve such applause.

A second worry about the future of symphony concerts lies in the constantly growing demands of musicians through their unions. The fourteen great orchestras in America to-day cost from \$150,000 to \$350,000 a year over the amount received from the sale of tickets. It is doubtful whether

the wealthy patrons of music who now support these orchestras will continue to shoulder this huge and increasing deficit. Far more listeners go to concerts nowadays and there are far more concerts to go to—in New York the average is seven a week during the season. But still the deficit grows.

Technically, the orchestras have made a great advance over those of the past, and even over foreign orchestras of the present. Musicians' salaries were so small that they of necessity had other employment along with their music work. Rehearsals had to be few and far between. Also, all musicians in American orchestras used to be German. Now they are chosen from any nationality because they are the best players available. Abroad they are still chosen by race.

Concerning the New York Symphony, Mr. Damrosch says:

"Business difficulties were not entirely eliminated until 1914. Since then, with the exception of two years, the entire financial responsibility for the orchestra has been assumed by Harry Harkness Flagler. His bounti-



ful gift has freed the Society of all financial worries, enabling it to concentrate wholly on its artistic needs.

"The activities of the Symphony Society of New York have now extended to the point where a hundred concerts are given each season in New York and on tour. The tours have carried the orchestra from coast to coast, from Canada to Havana and through five European countries."

## Young People Who Read the Bible, and Like It

"YOU say that young people today are immoral. What do you suggest that we do about it," parents asked Mrs. Honoré Willsie Morrow, the novelist, after she wrote an article on present-day moral training. In the November *Cosmopolitan* she answers their question on the basis of what she has done with her own children.

Mrs. Morrow is not a professing Christian. She is not even sure that there is a God, although she would like to think that there is. Yet every morning she reads the Bible to her children, and the whole family attends church regularly. Before Mrs. Morrow married, her chief aim in life was to write a great book. Now that she has children, writing has become secondary, although she has produced two novels of the pioneer period in the West that have made her name known throughout the country. Her greatest desire, it appears, has become to train her children to be successful human beings.

Mrs. Morrow thought long and hard about what qualities her children would need to help humanity on the road to civilization. Finally she decided to combat the attributes which all children inherit from their savage forebears, and which are incompatible with the highest civilization: selfishness, cruelty, laziness, dishonesty. But how was she to do this?

"By force of example?"

she writes. "It didn't take me long to learn that one might be a Martha for unselfishness and a Franklin for industry and a Lincoln for honesty and tenderness and that no child would show the slightest desire to emulate one. It's only in after life that one fully appreciates the saintlike qualities of parents. Example was not enough.

"Punishment? Helpful, but not all-sufficing. . . .

"The child must *understand* the importance of unselfishness, kindness, industry, honesty—those quaint old-fashioned virtues—or they never could become engrained in his character."

Books? It was from books that Mrs. Morrow learned most of her moral lessons when a child. Elsie Dinsmore, Rollo, the Prudy books, the Wide, Wide World, and the rest, formed an integral part of her ethical education. They were moral melodrama that made exciting reading and aroused the desire to be as unselfish as Elsie, as honest as Reuben.

Finding no substitutes for these books in modern literature for children, Mrs. Morrow hunted up a library similar to the one she once had read, and her children devoured all its volumes before they were eight years old. The books "focused their childish thoughts in a thrilling way on problems of behavior."

A Bible, huge, and filled with superb engravings, proved the next step. The Morrow family has read it through several times. "Straight along we travel . . . eliminating



MRS. MORROW READS THE BIBLE TO HER CHILDREN

not a single 'begat,' not a dirty treachery or lechery or passionate love song."

There is no doubt that it makes them think about ethics, says Mrs. Morrow. Whether it will affect their behavior, only time will tell. Questions come up, as for instance, the Ten Commandments.

"Mother, do you believe Moses got those straight from God?" a child would ask.

"No," she answered, "I think he had a great understanding of people's weaknesses. He made some very wise laws that he knew people would hate to obey. He knew that they'd never obey just an ordinary human being, so he let the people think he got them straight from God."

"Do you think he was justified in telling such a lie, even if it did work?"

"No, I don't."

But as the children grew older they did not accept Mrs. Morrow's judgments about morals as absolute. They began to desire the approval of the world on the family standard.

"Oh, Mother, don't be goody-good," they would say. Or, "None of the kids I know are kept as strict as we are."

For Mrs. Morrow the church proved to be the outside help she needed to popularize the family standards. Since then, the whole family has gone regularly and enthusiastically to church. Mrs. Morrow leaves her experience, which she frankly says is still unproved as to ultimate result—the oldest of her children is now fifteen—as a suggestion for possible use by puzzled parents.

## How Shall We Pay for Sickness?

**T**WO BILLION dollars every year is spent for sickness in the United States. How to raise their share of the two billion is a problem which many families face, for at least one serious illness, as well as the normal run of disease, occurs in every four families each year.

When you average it all up, points out Dr. Louis Dublin in the November *Harpers*, it comes to about \$80 a year per family. But that is not the way families go about getting sick. Years may go by and the cost of illness may be light; then comes that protracted illness, that serious operation, and the family

finds itself anywhere from \$500 to \$1,000 behind. Dread of this fact hangs darkly in the minds of most families of moderate income.

What can we do about it? asks Dr. Dublin, who is head of the Medical Department of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and possessor of a fund of facts on the subject.

Do not blame the doctors, he says. The average income of the 150,000 doctors in America is only \$3,000 a year, little enough in view of their expensive training, the equipment necessary, and the overhead of their offices, which may be nearly a third of their income. They already do what they can to remedy a faulty system, by charging on a sliding scale commensurate with the patient's income. That is, the well-to-do pay for the patients that are treated free of charge.

Of course the system is unsatisfactory and bears most heavily in the end upon the group which already suffers most from the cost of illness: the great class of persons whose income ranges from \$5,000 to \$20,000 a year.

This group does not take advantage of free clinics, hospital wards, and industrial medical services. Its hospital bills, moreover, are unjustly high. A major surgical operation rarely costs less than \$1,000. The birth of a baby costs nearly as much. This is because the private patient, whether he is rich or of moderate means, is charged a fixed price set high enough to make up the deficit entailed by free and partly free hospital service.

Dr. Dublin has three suggestions for bettering this bad situation. The first of these is an extension of "group or team medicine," already growing in favor. By this system 10,000,000 people throughout the country now receive care in free clinics. The clinic idea has proved itself. Here a group of specialists with the best modern equipment render the maximum service. Clinics for patients who can and should pay a reasonable amount for medical care should be organized. It is possible to run these so that they are self-supporting and yet render excellent medical service to the patients, at about a third of what they would have to pay to the same physicians at their private offices, Dr. Dublin believes. To quote:

"A number of clinics, where the patients are expected to pay the full cost of the service, including the salaries of the attending physicians, have already been organized to provide better and more economical medical care for middle-class families. . . . They attract es-

pecially patients whose ailments require elaborate diagnostic facilities, long-drawn-out and expensive treatment, and the more costly appliances necessary for specialized medical work."

A second step in the direction of economic reorganization of medical service would be the reduction of free service in hospitals, and provision for the endowment of what free care is given. The service of the destitute should be paid for with public funds, and those who can afford to pay in the wards should be made to do so. Then the charge for private patients could be reduced to something nearer the true cost of the services rendered.

Finally, health insurance for disabling sickness could be conducted efficiently in the United States by the number of private insurance companies. Should such insurance ever become as universal among the not-so-well-off as life insurance is to-day, the economic problem we have been discussing, says Dr. Dublin, would be solved.

## Old Ironsides

NONE of the many encounters of the U. S. Frigate *Constitution* was more glorious than its capture of the British man-of-war *Guerrière*, early in the war of 1812. It was in that epic struggle that the ship won its name "Old Ironsides," and how that came about appears in a yellowed manuscript recently unearthed by Rear Admiral Eliot Snow of the U. S. Navy. The story, written by Moses Smith, sponger of No. 1 gun on the *Constitution*, appears in the *Golden Book Magazine*, from which the following is taken:

"As we came up she began to fire. They were evidently trying to rake us. But we continued on our course, tacking and half-tacking, taking good care

to avoid being raked. We came so near on one tack, that an eighteen-pound shot came through us under the larboard knight-head, striking just abaft the breech of the gun to which I belonged. The splinters flew in all directions; but no one was hurt. We immediately picked up the shot, and put it in the mouth of Long Tom, a large gun loose on deck—and sent it home again, with our respects.

"... A whole broadside from our guns followed. The *Constitution* shook from stem to stern. Every spar and yard in her was atremble. But no one was hurt by the recoil of the guns, though several were made deaf by the noise. We instantly followed the thunder of our cannon with three loud cheers, which rang along the ship like the roar of waters, and floated away rapidly to the ears of the enemy. . . .

"When the smoke cleared away . . . we saw that we had cut off the mizzen mast of the *Guerrière*, and that her main-yard had been shot from the slings. Her mast and rigging were hanging in great confusion over her sides, and dashing against her on the waves.

"The *Guerrière* returned our fire with spirit. . . . Several shot now entered our hull. One

of the largest the enemy could command struck us, but the plank was so hard it fell out and sank in the waters. This was afterwards noticed, and the cry arose:

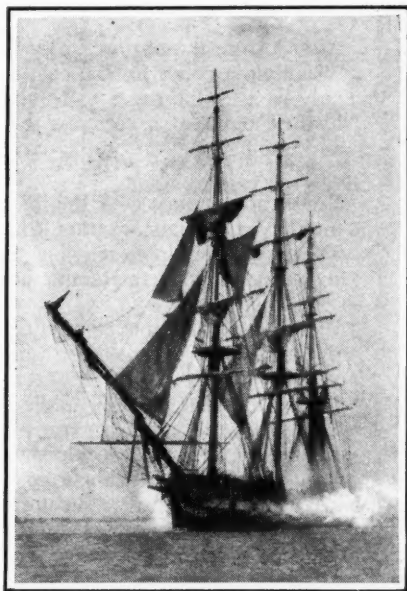
"Huzza! Her sides are made of iron! See where the shot fell out!"

"From that circumstance the name of the *Constitution* was garnished with the title:

"'OLD IRONSIDES'

"By this title she is known around the world."

Admiral Snow found this narrative, after an exhaustive search including the Library of Congress and British Museum, in the Harvard College Library.



U. S. FRIGATE *CONSTITUTION*  
As rebuilt for the moving picture "Old Ironsides"

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# As Stated

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WICKHAM STEED:  
*In the English Review of Reviews*

The chances of preventing war in Europe seem fainter to-day than they have been at any time since the League of Nations was founded.

BISHOP EDGAR BLAKE:  
*In the Christian Advocate*

Our present expenditures for war preparation, if applied to constructive enterprises, would be sufficient to rebuild and equip the entire railroad system of the United States in ten years.

HERBERT PARRISH:  
*Episcopal clergyman, on Church Unity  
In Harpers*

In most small towns a single church would suffice for the housing of all who desire to attend religious services. But you will generally find a dozen or more . . . struggling to pay their bills and cutting each other's throats in the effort to make one proselyte.

WILLIAM HAYNES:  
*In the Atlantic Monthly*

At some distant day it may even come to pass that, having satiated our material desires, we shall come to demand mental, even spiritual, satisfactions.

ROLLIN M. PERKINS:  
*Professor of Law  
In Harpers*

The urgent need of the hour is . . . for reforms in our administration of criminal justice—reforms which will require not a superficial tinkering here and there, but the most sweeping changes both in the machinery to be used and in the mental attitude of lawyers and judges in regard to the use of this machinery.

HENRY L. STIMSON:  
*President Coolidge's special representative  
in Nicaragua,  
In the Saturday Evening Post*

After a careful and practically uninterrupted study of our Nicaraguan policy for the past five months, I feel that not only have we no cause to be ashamed of that page in our history, but that it contains the record of a long, patient, and intelligent effort on the part of this country.

ATLEE POMERENE:  
*Former Senator  
In the North American Review*

I have no patience with the injection of the religious issue into our campaigns, whether it is for or against a candidate. Those who require a religious test for office are rejecting the cornerstone of the temple of the Republic.

LUCY BRICKHOUSE:  
*Addressing the National Education  
Association*

We wage continual conflict with ignorance, but frequently the conflict becomes one with our boards of education.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW:  
*In an editorial*

It was very largely the public acclaim and hero worship and over-exploitation in the press that inspired and encouraged . . . fatal recklessness [in aviation] . . . It would be appropriate for it to be made known that hereafter "stunt" flights will be unnoticed, save for a minimum of space in the obituary column.

HENRY HARAP:  
*In the Educational Review*

It should be borne in mind that much of what masquerades as education to-day is the heritage of the privileged few of a former day.



**K. K. KAWAKAMI:**  
*In the Calcutta Review*

About the hardest task I have undertaken is to convince Americans, fairly well informed . . . that the two [Japanese] newspapers I represent are not tabloids with sex appeal, yet enjoy a combined circulation of more than two million copies a day.

**JAMES CORBETT:**  
*In the Fortnightly Review (Great Britain)*

We are really a slow-thinking nation.

**COUNT CARLO SFORZA:**  
*In Foreign Affairs*

. . . that precious gift bestowed upon the British people—the possession of writers and clergymen able in perfect good faith to advance the highest moral reasons for the most concrete diplomatic action, with inevitable material profit to England.

**ARTHUR BULLARD:**  
*In the Outlook*

Did the enthusiasm of the French about Lindbergh make them less bitter against us about the debts? . . . There is not the slightest connection between Lindbergh and the debts.

**WILLIAM BUTLER:**  
*Of the N. Y. State Crime Commission*

We have waves of news and we think we are having waves of crime.

**G. W. NORRIS:**  
*Senator from Nebraska*

Governor Smith couldn't do any worse as an out-and-out wet than the fellows who have been in charge of [Prohibition] enforcement.

**SEYMOUR M. LOWMAN:**  
*Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in charge of Prohibition*

The great mass of Americans do not drink liquor . . . If America can be made sober and temperate in fifty years a good job will have been done.

**JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS:**  
*In the Atlantic Monthly*

As for liberty of speech, thought, and action in America, it is notorious that in many ways they are being maintained only by a direct disobeying of or winking at innumerable laws.

**S. J. VICKERS:**  
*In the Architectural Record*

Although we have discarded the stage-coach as a means of locomotion, men have laid aside powdered wigs and lace sleeves, and ladies no longer affect the crinoline, yet many well-known architects . . . still cling to an architectural style which has long prevailed.

**EL UNIVERSAL:**  
*A Mexico City newspaper*

Mexico's main demand is that the new Ambassador should know how to modify the selfish requirements of the most powerful capitalistic group on earth. In modern intercourse it cannot be denied that economic factors rule all relations, and financiers are the real statesmen.

**COMMERCE AND FINANCE:**  
*In a news paragraph*

Of the 28,861 strikes in the United States in the twelve years from 1915 to 1926, 34.5 per cent. were won by the workers, 34.5 per cent. by the employers, and 31 per cent. were compromised. These strikes are estimated to have cost the workers in wages no less than \$2,015,299,000, the employers \$536,171,000 and the general public \$11,532,066,000—a grand total of \$14,083,536,000.

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# The New Books

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NOTHING is just now more baffling to the editor of a book department striving to keep abreast of current developments than the flood of biographies which demands increasing attention from month to month and thereby causes a distraction that tends to weaken our interest in other fields of literature. In this place last month we noted about twenty titles among the fall announcements in biography and autobiography (several of which are noticed in more detail on pages 10 and 12 of this month's Advertising Section) and before our October number was off the press there came from the publishers promises of as many more equally important works in the same category. Among these late announcements we note:—"Henry Ward Beecher," by Paxton Hibben (Doran); "My Life as an Explorer," by Roald Amundsen (Doubleday); "John Paul Jones," by Phillips Russell (Brentano's); "Some Memories and Reflections," by Emma Eames (Appleton); "The 'Compleat' Gilbert and Sullivan," by Isaac Goldberg (Simon and Schuster); "Northcliffe: a Study" (Lippincott); "The Devil and Cotton Mather," by Katherine Anne Porter (Boni and Liveright); "The Memoirs of Queen Hortense" (Cosmopolitan Book Corporation); "The Portrait of a Banker: James Stillman," by Anna R. Burr (Stokes); "Life and Letters of Gertrude Bell of Arabia," by Lady Bell (Boni and Liveright). The first two volumes of the authorized life of Woodrow Wilson by Ray Stannard Baker (Doubleday) will be published immediately. The second volume of the biography of Washington, entitled "George Washington: the Rebel and the Patriot," by Rupert Hughes (Morrow), appears this month. The list of new biographies might easily be made twice as long.

Meanwhile, less personal contributions to history are promised as follows: "Rise of the Common Man," by Carl Russell Fish (Macmillan); "Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878," by Allan Nevins (Macmillan); "The Big Ditch," by Eric Walrond (Boni and Liveright); "The Conquest of Our Western Empire," by Agnes C. Laut (McBride); "In the Great Days of Sail," by Andrew

Shewan (Houghton Mifflin); "The Making of a State," by Thomas G. Masaryk (Stokes); and the second volume of "Our Times," by Mark Sullivan (Scribner's).

Among the reports of explorers and travelers we shall soon have: "Etah and Beyond," by Donald B. MacMillan (Houghton Mifflin); "The Story of Everest," by John Noel (Little Brown); "The Cliff Dwellers of Kenya," by J. A. Massam (Lippincott); "My Amazing Adventures in Liberia," by Major Claude Wallace (Stokes); "Passenger to Teheran," by V. Sackville-West (Doran); "Life and Laughter Midst the Cannibals," by Clifford W. Collinson (Dutton); "A Pilgrimage to Palestine," by Harry Emerson Fosdick (Macmillan); "The Book of the Gloucester Fishermen," by James B. Connolly (John Day); and "Wandering among Forgotten Isles," by Jesse Metcalf (Sears).

In the departments of religion and philosophy these are among the season's offerings: "Religion without Revelation," by Julian S. Huxley (Harper); "New Reformation—Revelations of Science," by Michael Pupin (Scribner's); "My Religion," by Helen Keller (Doubleday); "Science and Philosophy," by Bernard Bosanquet (Macmillan); and "Primitive Man as Philosopher," by Paul Radin (Appleton).

A book on "Genius and Character," by Emil Ludwig (Harcourt), is likely to attract unusual attention because of the important biographical studies recently published by this distinguished German author.

"Social Life in the Animal World," by F. Alverdes (Harcourt); "Analysis of Matter," by Bertrand Russell (Harcourt); "Life of the White Ant," by Maurice Maeterlinck (Dodd, Mead); "Charm of Birds," by Viscount Grey (Stokes); "Science and Human Progress," by Logan Clendenning (Knopf), are candidates for admission to every up-to-date library of nature and popular science.

There will be, of course, a large number of specially illustrated books for the holiday trade. Of these we can speak more definitely next month.

*For notices of current books see page 10 of the Advertising Section.*